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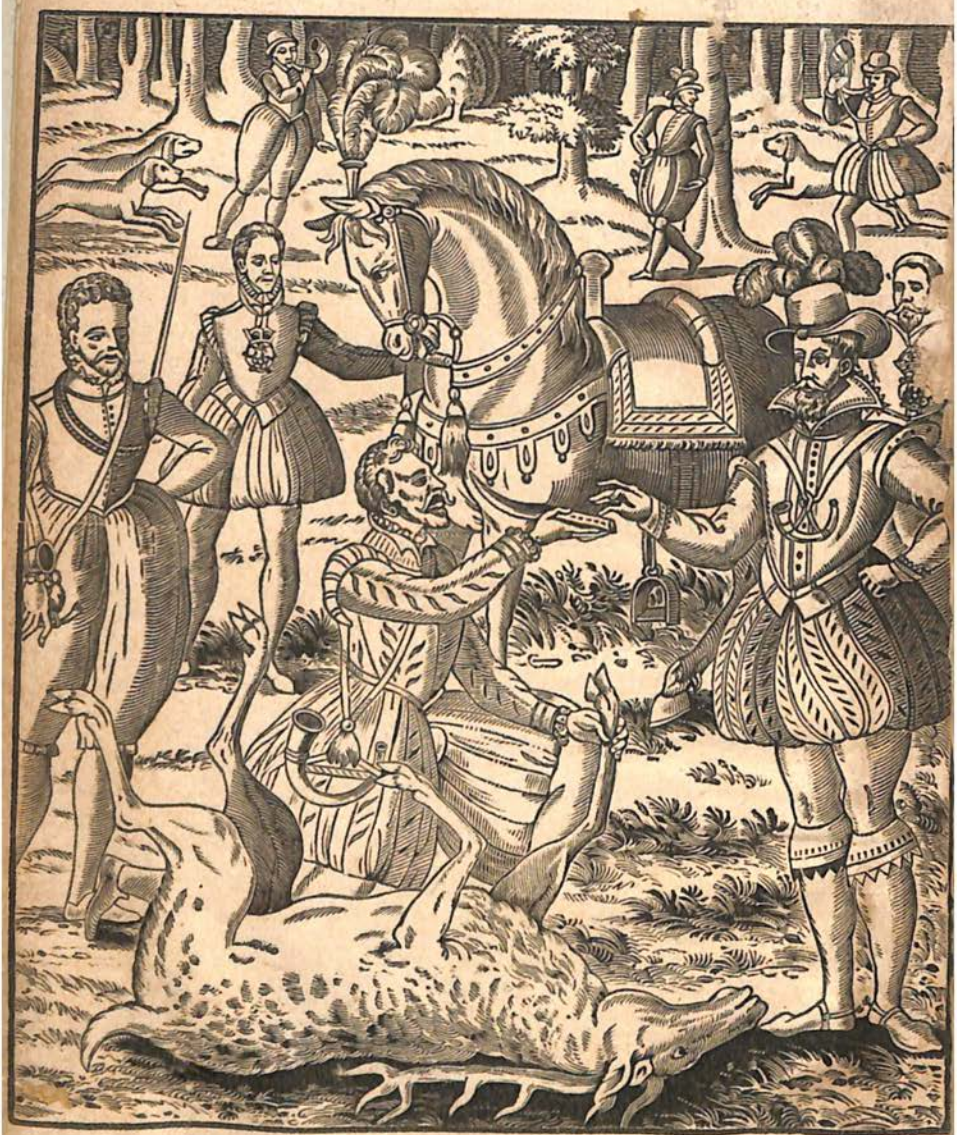

James I.

ABOUT TO TAKE ASSAY OF THE DEER.

See Page 196.

SECRET HISTORY

OF

THE COURT

OF

James the First:

CONTAINING,

I. OSBORNE'S TRADITIONAL MEMOIRS.

II. SIR ANTHONY WELDON'S COURT AND CHARACTER OF KING JAMES.

III. AULICUS COQUINARIÆ.

IV. SIR EDWARD PEYTON'S DIVINE CATASTROPHE OF THE HOUSE OF STUARTS.

WITH

NOTES AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by James Ballantyne and Co.

FOR JOHN BALLANTYNE AND CO., EDINBURGH; AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, LONDON.

1811.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The scarce Works, which are here republished in a uniform shape, bear reference to an interesting period of history, and throw considerable light upon each other. They may be considered as holding a middle character between History and Memoirs, neither presenting the systematized form and dignified elevation of the one, nor the connected narrative and detail of the other species of composition; but they contain many curious facts concerning the Courts of James I., his predecessor, and successor, for which the reader might in vain ransack either the work of the professed historian, or the memoirs of individuals. Some notes have been added for the purpose of ex-

plaining or correcting, or corroborating, the statements in the text, and a short introduction is prefixed to each of the Tracts, giving some account of the author.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME FIRST.

James I. about to take Assay of the Deer, to face the Title.

OSBORNE.

PAGE.

Introduction to Osborne's Traditional Memoirs i

The Epistle v

To the Reader xi

The principal Heads of the Memoires 17

Some Traditionall Memorialls of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth 21

Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James the First 123

To the Reader 125

The principal Heads of the following Memoyres . . 135

Some Traditionall Memorialls on the Reign of King James the First 141

WELDON.

PAGE.
Weldon's Court and Character of King James, whereunto is added the Court of King Charles.. 299
Introduction..... 301
Dedication to Lady Elizabeth Sidley..... 305
Preface to the First Edition..... 309
The Court of King James..... 313

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

ON

THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH

AND

KING JAMES.

BY FRANCIS OSBORNE, ESQ.

INTRODUCTION.

FRANCIS OSBORNE, the author of the following Memoirs, was younger son of Sir John Osborne, of Chicksand, Bedfordshire. He was privately educated, without being sent either to a school or university; an omission for which he makes some reflections upon his parents, in his "Advice to his Son." According to the fashion of the day, Osborne attached himself to the celebrated Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and became master of the horse in his household. His master, with gross ingratitude, followed the parliamentary party in the civil war; and Osborne of course attached himself to the same side, by which he gained trust and employment under Oliver Cromwell. In the latter part of his life he resided in Oxford, to watch, accord-

ing to Wood, the conduct of his son John, appointed, by the parliamentary visitors, a fellow of St John's College, in 1648. To this son he addressed his celebrated "Advice," evincing no small knowledge of men and manners. It was so popular among the students, that the "godly clergy," as Wood calls them, petitioned the vice-chancellor that it should be publicly burnt, as containing irreligious tenets. To what pitch of popularity this might have raised the work, may be guessed from the effect of a simple prohibition, which was substituted in place of the measure proposed, and had its usual consequences, of greatly increasing the demand for the book.

Osborne's Traditional Memoirs, which are here reprinted, contain many curious particulars concerning the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The modesty of the title may apologize for many inaccuracies inseparable from traditional information. But there is no reason to suppose that the author, in any instance, wilfully misleads his readers. It is very clear, notwithstanding Wood's insinuations, that he lamented the miserable conclusion of the civil war; and from various expressions, both in the Memoirs

and other parts of his works, it would seem Osborne was a friend to the monarchy and church of England, though an enemy to the encroachments of king or hierarchy upon the liberty of the people.

OSBORNE'S
TRADITIONAL MEMOIRS.

THE EPISTLE.

MY DEAR LUCILIUS,

I DO here leave to your better education another daughter of my brain, that may not unpossibly pass with the less scandal, because chaste from any desire after new and forbidden discoveries, or of disturbing that huge trade antiquity and custom drive; the first amongst scholars, who think it a sufficient excuse in the justification of a stunted knowledge, to maintain an impossibility of transcending the abilities of former ages, yet cannot gainsay a visible improvement

in their own; which haply would be greater, were learning left free to every ones sense, and not confined to patterns and old forms, harder many times to be imitated, or made use of, than new ones found; which being our own, would appear more natural and adapted to the present understandings, in many things strangers to the usances of the ancients: whereas the second serves as an universal chain, by which the generality are led to approve or dislike the words, actions, and gestures of others: Whose judgements, as I have long since not much valued, so have I a little wondred at age, to finde it so tetchy, when younger in years lay any claim to knowledge: Since the goodness of the eye, and advantage of place, and not a long poring, discovers the prospect; more of London being surveyable in a minute from Pauls steeple, than can be seen in an age out of Cheapside: there remaining nothing in this world prescription hath a weaker title to than wisdome, the legitimate daughter experience brings forth to an able and

active understanding. For though all things are found to own, in process of time, a publick vicissitude, yet for the most part it is too slow and cunningly carried, to be discerned at any distance (especially in relation to the present) which way it turns. The ignorant traveller may see by the diall, the time is in a declension; but, without entring the church or court, shall be never the wiser as to the knowledge of the true and proper causer of the motion. For myself, I confess I am more highly bound to letters, than any acquired advantage or natural endowment self-partiality or others indulgence hath hitherto been able to estate me in. Now, if some, owners of such parts as I am conscious of the want of, did prosecute the like study, having a purse and will to purchase a sight of the intelligence, negotiations, conferences, and transactions of all those that have resided in embassy with our princes, they might no question be able to compose a more exact chronicle than this nation ever saw of her own: and

for elegancy, it would, like honey, drop out of the same leaves he gathered his information from; epistles being the quintessence of the writers judgment, as they are undoubtedly the elixir of his rhetorick. And he that desires a more exemplary manifestation of this infallible (though for ought I ever observed, seldome practised) truth, may finde it in that learned Italian's History of the Council of Trent; a piece that challenges all the veneration our partial modern readers do or can offer at the shrines of antiquity; a folly sure not so conversant in the world before printing, otherwise the most part of new books from time to time had still been buried in their swadling-clouts, for want of transcription, which few or none would now foul their fingers ends about, as not esteeming it worth the labour, out of sloth or contempt: So far, as the stationers meer zeal to gain, rather than any propensity to the advancement of learning, did for a while keep Bacon, Rawleigh, and divers incomparable spirits more, from

perishing at the bottome of oblivion; good books (anciently written in the bark of trees, and now) running, in their progress, so exactly the fate of acorns, that if their chance be to withstand the swinish contamination of their own age, and trampling into the dirt of contempt, they do not seldome afterwards become the gods of the nations, and have temples dedicated to their worship; as their authors in this participate with other good men, who attain not to a state of glory till after this life.

TO

THE READER.

THOUGH the study of history be an ancient prescript for the avoiding of ignorance, and production of knowledge, and to this day far more in use than any other politick aphorisms; yet with reverence to this confessed excellent dose of others approved experiments, I doubt not but princes and men in power might finde a readier, if not a more infallible way to prudence, by being conversant in all sorts of letters relating to embassadors, and such spies and ministers (of common-wealths especially) as are employed abroad or at home in the trans-

actions of treaties, where all things appear bare-faced, and at first hand, not smutted with interest, or adulterated by the red and white paint of envy, fear, or flattery. Nor is the frequent opportunity of discoursing with contemporaries (who having enjoyed a new light, cannot but have seen more than those by time and birth placed at a remoter distance) any despicable ingredient in the composition of an exact statesman; of which I finde few that deserve (in my judgement) the title, commonly forfeited to an over-remissness, or excess in sanctity or profaneness; or, if you will, to hypocrisie or scandal, which, at long running, will meet both with the same inconveniences. To be sure, my self have as little propensity as sufficiency in this art; being no less obstructed through mulcts received from fortune than nature; the later of which is as uncapable of amendment, as the first is unlikely to finde it: (For after the death of a good father, being driven into a corner of the world by injuries received from the

nearest of kindred and remotest of friends, I was not onely invited by leisure, but compelled through necessity to seek these diversions: in which, if I be mistaken, the pardon cannot be long in suing out, since I hope they shall not meet with a severer judge than my self, for whose recreation alone they were intended.) Though the small insight I have had into affairs did not seldome gratifie my spleen with as much delight, as it may have not unpossibly affected less sanguine complexions with fury or disdain, to see the valet brought into play, where discretion called for an higher and more exact courtier; or to hear the people wrangle and cast about their mony, through a phanatick desire to discard a present government; not foreseeing their hopes may possibly be deluded in the same, if not a worse stock than they make out and lay by; often bartering a pack of fools for a like quantity of knaves and mad-men: The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, then this advised

adage, seldome comes a better; especially if no wiser heads be found in the election than their own.

Nature hath employed three senses chiefly to wait on the body, and but two on the minde; yet under this advantage, that these last are distinctly double: for which of them we stand most obliged to nature, is not yet passed decision; since, though in regard of pleasure, sight may have the royalty, yet in respect of wisdome, the prerogative must not be denied to hearing: it being the far greater wonder to finde a prudent man deaf than blinde; so as some are recorded to have put out their eyes, as enemies to contemplation. It is ordinarily affirmed, I have seen this or that, when the most of it hath arrived at us from report. And in this sense I may be said to have seen these, and a number more, which out of respect to others fame, or mine own safety, I wilfully omit. But lest this confession might seem to cast a vail of prejudice over the face of that truth I here expose to the curious eyes of

this age, as nakedly as modesty will give a toleration for, I shall say in behalf of tradition, that all books are her tenements, and contain little of history, whatever they may do of invention, but what they hold from manner of some report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be sure, if possibly the end and period of any nation God in his love did establish, or fury destroy, a more faithful register than traditional reports; not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of time, which, rightly weighed, is but the pedantick part of history, and so not unlikely the cause we finde such differences arising amongst our chronologers; the main *fons* or bottome of her account being no farther corresponsible, than for a just and even balancing her layings out with what she hath received. To conclude with an answer to those that may require some account of the present undertaking; I think it far on this side such impudence as ignorance is found to plaister her libels with against incomparable Queen

Elizabeth, to own a strength able, by rubbing off such dirt (especially where desert lies so thick upon her tomb) to gild her name, though the manner of doing it may stain mine own; since the few spots discernable in her government are hidden, like those this ages curiosity hath detected in the sun, from any farther notice, by the splendor of the rest.

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

OF

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRES

ON THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1. Queen Elizabeth, her moderate Carriage at first, till exasperated by the Pope's Rashness. Why the Infancy of her Reign continued quiet, notwithstanding so great a shake and turn in Religion—

2. —To which she was in a manner necessitated.

3. How the Parliament confirmed it and her.

4. She breaks with Spain, assists the Dutch, makes Leagues Abroad, suppresses Conspiracies at Home: Papists prosecuted; the Pope's too late Concession—being refused—is seconded with an Interdict—which proves fatal to the Papists and Queen of Scots.—Her Death and the D. of Norfolk's, &c.—Censured.

5. Q. Eliz. galls the Spaniards: Cales Voyage under Essex—gets him Love and Envy.

6. The Queen foments Factions at Home, and what use she makes of them, and of—Her own Inconstancy. The Spanish Armado in 88.

7. The Queens Favour to Essex—How often by him hazarded: his Quarrel with Blunt—designed for his Rival.

8. His Enemies restless Endeavours to ruine him—by setting him on high; his ample Irish Commission.

A Character of the Q. Court, Majesty, Thrift: Provisions rated, Exactions of Purvoyers punished.—

9. —A witty Example thereof in Kent.

10. Her Household-Servants the goodliest of Person, &c. that could be got:—as,

11. —Her Councel the choicest for Prudence:—apparent in her Marriage-Treaties with Spain and France.

12. Her Councels Integrity. Offices the Reward of Merit. Her exact Intelligence. B. Bancroft's Art in dividing the Jesuites and Regulars—afforded him Popish Intelligence. His Character. His Endeavours for Uniformity of Worship—hindred by the Influence of the two clashing Factions at Court upon the other Bishops, &c.

13. Letters of State writ in a plain Style—involving sometimes an obscure Sense, as those about her Marriages with France.

14. Court-Hospitality.

15. Her Prudence in receiving Treats from her more

ambitious Subjects; how she diverted their Humour of Popularity.

16. She opposes the Declaration of a Successor, and why: denies the Parliaments Petition for her Marriage.

17. Contrary Reports about her Concupiscence. Her Art of Government and Choice of Ministers: why some of less Abilities were taken in afterwards: Earl of Nottingham Admiral. His Character. The Queen sparing in giving Honours, or suffering her Subjects to accept them from Foreign Princes. Examples thereof in Sir F. Vere, Sir W. Rawley, Sir Mat. Arundel, Sir P. Sidney.

18. Her Modesty in point of Augmentation of Empire; refusing the Dutch as Subjects, though she took their Cautionary Towns, and Havre de Grace—to regain Calis. The Spaniard, by cutting off the Heads of the Dutch Nobility, makes way for the springing up of their Hydra of Popular Government.

19. Leicesters Hopes of marrying the Queen. His Freedom of Discourse with her about it, and otherwise. His Character.

20. In Foreign Injuries she never precipitated Revenge.

21. Parliaments frequent, and consequently moderate. She restrains their Debates about Succession and Religion. Keeps the Church humble, and carries fair with her Parliament. The Schismaticks leave England. How

it might have been (safely) prevented. What hindered it. The fatal Inconveniences of those Proceedings.

22. Ireland neglected, and why. The Lord Mountjoy ends the War. The Baseness of the Natives—how much Priest-ridden.

23. Essex unfortunate Expedition thither—Cecils Artifice to fetch him back, to—his Death—from which, neither the Love of the People, nor of the Q. his Mistris, could bail him, and—after which she never joyed. The Occasion of her Death—reported to proceed from the Countess of Notinghams not delivering the Q. a Ring, sent her by Essex, (to whom she had formerly given it as a Pledge of her Affection and his Safety,) which the Countess on her Death-bed discovering to the Queen, was by her sent with Curses in stead of Forgiveness, into another World.

24. After Essex Death, Cecil, being left without Controll, not onely urges the Q. to declare James her Successor, but uses other Endeavours to effect the same.

25. The happy Condition Q. Eliz. left England in. No considerable Enemy. How we stood related to other Nations—Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, &c.

26. How at Home, as to Parliaments, Credit, Treasure, Debts, Justice, the Church.

27. The Conclusion.

SOME

TRADITIONALL MEMORIALLS

ON

THE REIGN

OF

QUEENE ELIZABETH.

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1. After the death of Mary, eldest daughter of Henry the Eighth, had delivered this nation (for that time) from an imminent danger of becoming tributary to the Spanish king (who ownes none for a naturall subject, indued with lesse pride and austerity then may serve to face a tyranny equall to the Grand Signior's,) and left the crowne to her sister Elizabeth, not only swept and

washed from all competition or claimes by the bloud of Queene Jeane,[1] but garnished with the applause and consent of the people; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enimies of the court of Rome, then jealous of the partiality shewne to the priests, whose exactions were become no lesse odious in things temporall, then their Latine *Mumsimus* had made them appeare in what related to the worship of God; Edward the Sixt's reigne being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconveniences appeare, likely to follow so totall a defection from a church reverenced by all Christian princes besides; it might be no weak motive to the new queene, so fairely to demeane her selfe at first, that though she entertained the Protestants in hope, no perswasions could tempt her to cast the papists into dispaire, till the pope (better seen in the dignity belonging to his greatnesse, then the arts his predecessors had used in

[1] Jane Seymour.

their conduct to it) did, by denying her embassadors a favorable reception, reduce her to a present necessity, of renouncing the Roman miter, or her pretence to that crowne she had without any considerable opposition so happily possest.[1] There being no way so probable to continue her in power, after the popes so publike manifestation of a blemish in her birth, as by adhering to a party, which, during the reigne of her sister, did justify, in the flames of a hot persecution, That the authority of his holinesse was spurious it self, and the owners of it no better than anti-christs, which attempt of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the protection Philip the Second afforded during the infancy of her power, flattered to it in hope of marriage, no lesse then compelled out of a feare to see Eng-

[1] The pope took his ground too early, returning an insolent answer to the English envoy, who notified the accession of Elizabeth, in which he stigmatized her with bastardy, and made his absolution and blessing depend upon her resigning the crown.

land possessed by the Scots, a people ever in conjunction with France, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affaires. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his match with her sister, they continued still so prevalent, as he did not only forbeare him selfe, but restrayned others from making use of that advantage, so totall a defection could not but afford. Nor was the aspect of a councill then sitting in Trent, (to which she omitted not to send her ministers) of small consequence to her designe; because not only this nation, but all Europe were in the strongest of their labour to produce a reformation, though farre short of the pretences of Luther, to whose memory the queen had an unappeasable feud, ever since he upbrayded her father with the repudiation of Charles the Fift's sister: whose birth by this became so unhappy, as to be not only disapproved by the catholickes, but the founder of that profession she meant to establish. Nor were the religious houses

and lands, possessed promiscuously by those of both tenents, a weak shelter to this new princesse, looked upon by all as the likeliest and most obliged person to keepe them from reverting to their antient use. And therefore, in hope to be vigorously asserted by the protestants, and at worst but weakly opposed by such as had not yet quite relinquished the Roman yoake.

2. And that the penners of this story may be as free from the imputation of malice as ignorance, though they acknowledge her rather thrown, then of her selfe fallen from the obedience of Rome, is deducible from the ceremonies used at her inauguration, all purely catholike, and the retention of the ring, crosse, and surplice, contrary to the grayne of her strongest assertors: From whence her ayme may be ghest as not poynting at a greater dissent from the doctrine of Rome then her fathers proceedings had chalked her out; commanding the Common Prayer Book (which containes

most of the masse in English)[1] to be publikely read. And its opposers, the brownists, anabaptists, family of love, with a number of other crawling errors, the unnaturall heate of Luthers disputes had produced like insects over all Germany, to be restrained under no slighter penalty then death or imprisonment. Nor was she tempted to this out of a vainer hope then to draw her neighbour princes to the same resolution, already in dispaire of procuring good from any milder indevours then those in power. (The Roman courtiers participating so much of the nature of the mules they ride on, as they will rather indure, through a sullen obstinacy, the last extremity, then remoove never so little out of their track of honour

[1] This is too strongly stated; yet there was an obvious anxiety to follow the church of Rome, when difference was not essentially required by doctrinal points. Thus the sacramental bread was appointed to be made in the form of the wafers used in the private mass. The reader may consult the "Queen's Injunctions concerning Clergy and Laity."—SOMERS's *Tracts*, 1808, vol. I. p. 64.

and profit; no lesse manifest through all ages, then in their carriage towards this princesse, and their later proceedings with the republique of Venice.) From whence more connivance then love fell to the share of the puritans, that abhor'd the lenity of the queene, in not countenancing such as bent their force against the church of Rome (betwixt which and the court there may be a wider difference then our grosser disputes will suffer us to discerne,) from whose practice, though some desired a reformation, a farre greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any descent or ordination but what was derived from the catholike church, a terme of too great a latitude to be concealed for a day, much lesse for whole ages, as many indeavour to prove. But leaving these disputes to Dr Juell[1] and the rest of her divines (at that time better able to play the scholars,

[1] The celebrated John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, who distinguished himself in the controversy with the papists.

prize, then any amongst the fryers were found in their answers,) her juncto, in which she had a choyce number, consisting of both factions, did think it prudence not to stray farther then the inexorable necessity of the time compeld, from that union of doctrine which had a council to vouch, that no faith was to be held with any but themselves; which must have rendered all her leagues voyd or uselesse to the very oaths she took of her subjects: yet, notwithstanding these shackles, she spunne out a long and as happy a raigne as ever this nation did injoy.

3. The precedent reasons joyning forces with the deplorable condition she lived in during the government of her sister, and meeting with so fortunate a catastrophe, caused a no lesse consternation in the hearts of the papists (already much broken and unsetled in their passage through so many suddaine and unexpected changes) then it produced joy in those of the reformation, who, apprehending her successe as issuing out of the

immediate care God had of their affaires, became so far incouraged and sedulous, that, whilest the other party stood amazed in an expectation which way this new princesse would incline, the ensuing parliament was wholy made up of such persons as had already voted in their words and actions every thing the queene could desire to have confirmed in the house: so as no side but were mistaken in their account, the protestants gaining more, and the catholicks lesse then could be expected, to the taking the title of head of the church, and conferring it on her majesty, which was thought unsutable to her father and brother, and therefore farre more unbecoming the person of a woman; the cause a declaration was not long after issued out, to shew in what senses it was to be understood. And, to prove they more intended the limitation of the Roman power, then to secure themselves from tyranny at home, an act was passed, inabling the queene and commissioners for the time being to alter or bring what ceremonies or

worship they thought decent into the service of God, without excepting that formerly exploded: whereby a returne, (likelyest to be made use of,) or a farther remove, was left arbitrary at the will of the queene: whose successors not being mentioned in the act, left room to question, It ought to be no longer in force then her life. For whose gratification alone her privy counsell (that did then, and indeed almost all her time, governe parliaments) had intended it. But King James and the bishops finding the advantage it brought the crowne no lesse then the church, did not only owne it amongst the statutes unrepealled and in force, but did print it, with a proclamation to strengthen it, at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer. Neither had the high commission any better vizard to face the tyranny daily practised by the clergy, but what the authority this act did afford; which may one day tempt the people to a new, if not a more dismall reformation, after experience hath taught

them how pernitious it is to intrust either prince or priest with any power capable of abuse; yet, to the honour of this princesse, it may justly be said, that she never made use of her own liberty to inslave the nation, but repaid, or rather exceeded in thanks and acknowledgments all power they gave her; an art lost in these latter times, or thought unkingly. But I leave this her wisdome to be justified by the happy successe.

4. After the queene had in parliament cleansed her birth from all the spots the poyson of tongues had aspersed her with, and received for the future from the houses, in the name of the three estates, a promise of assistance, together with an oath of obedience, by which she might rest secure from within, her next indeavour was to line and fortify her out-works: In the prosecution of which, she was forced, through reason of state, upon a deeper ingratitude then I believe any thing but an impulsive necessity could have cast her into; for, after a firme settlement, she became the severest scourge

to Spaine that it ever had since emancipated from the Moors. The occasion of which some lay at the haughty and proud gate of the Spaniard, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a nature residing in all princes, not to acknowledge any friends or kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them some future good, which Philip the Second was not likely to do upon any remoter occasion then the possession of her person, his ends being intent upon an absolute monarchy, which obliged not only England, but all the princes in Europe, to oppose him. Nor could any favour received in the relation of a private person bind her more to requitall, then greater injuries did to revenge. Therefore, since she forgave the latter, when she had power to have taken it without danger, she seems more excusable in omitting the first, which could not have beene done without losse, and exposing her subjects to a visible inconvenience, if not a totall ruine.

Yet this is manifest in the histories on both sides, that the queene did, by way of mediation, long indeavour for a milder governing of his Dutch subjects (of whose oppression both heaven and earth are witnesses) before a sword was drawne in their defence. And for the treasure taken at sea,[1] and at first owned but as borrowed, it was not more then the faith of England might have been a sufficient security for, without being made the subject of a warre. Nor did the catholike king remaine long in a condition able to distresse the affayres of England, his power being diverted through a malecontented party that stood up for re-

[1] Queen Elizabeth certainly reserved to herself the choice of owning or disavowing the exploits of Drake, and the other dauntless adventurers, whose maxim it was, that wherever treaties might exist between Spain and England, they applied only to the old world; or, as they expressed it, "There was no peace beyond the line." Had the queen found it convenient to accommodate matters with Philip, they would have been held buccaneers and pirates, instead of English admirals; but she would never, like James, have sacrificed the life of a gallant subject to the jealousy of a foreign power.

ligion in the Netherlands, at first fomented by France, and after more cordially assisted by our queene; who delighted more, from her first assumption to power, in raising broyles, and making her selfe an arbitrator of others differences, then in any quarrell contracted of her owne: by which she did not only keep her selfe in plight at home, by sparing mony (harder parted with by the English then bloud) but gained so much reputation abroad, as no publique or private indeavours of his holinesse could stop other nations (already scandalized at his base and unworthy jugling in the councill) from confirming or making new or straighter leagues with England then formerly they had done: looking upon her defection as a president they might one day be forced to follow, in case the court of Rome continued still her contumacy towards princes: And, therefore, likelier to meet her with comfort and assistance, then any force to oppose her. From whence his holinesse was necessitated, in vindication

of his honour, to employ the jesuits, his owne emissaries, by artifice, poyson, or the knife, to bring about that his sword was not able to execute; so as the peace of her kingdome was at first more interrupted through privy conspiracies then open force: which, according to the guise of all unsuccessefull treasons, turned to the disadvantage of themselves and their party, the poore catholickes; against whom nothing in relation to the generality remaines upon due proofe sufficient to justify the severity of the lawes daily enacted and put in execution against them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the popes obstinacy, and a jealousy these practises bred in their naturall prince; by whom they were without question prosecuted rather out of feare then malice: which his holinesse at length perceiving, did offer what he denied, which was to confirme her title, and ratify the use of the Common Prayer, with the most of what the parliament had confirmed upon her, provided she would re-

ceive them as favours from the apostolicall see. But after this his too late compliance had cast him into their condition that have unadvisedly out stood the market, he, in no shallower malice then dispaire, cast not only the person of the queene, but the whole nation under a bottomlesse interdict; which was thundered out at Rome, and hung like a squib by one Felton upon the bishop of London's gate, where, after the execution of the party that did it, all other malignancy ceased, but what fell upon his owne creatures, who till then were not forbidden to communicate (in publique service) with the church of England, and so harder to be discovered, then since this open rupture. Nor was the queene of Scots (whose tragicall history is to be found every where written at large) more obliged to her catholick father, through whose incouragement she was tempted to assume the title and armes of England very unseasonably during her husbands sicknesse, and before her owne kingdome was settled, or any considerable

force manifested in her favour. It not pleasing France it selfe (of whose king she was after the relict) to see all Britanny united under one crowne: and from whence dropped so much of the venome of jealousy into the hearts of Elizabeth and her counsell, as no meanes was left unsought likely to distresse her, especially by the puritan party, whose safety lay in her destruction, and who shunned no undecency carrying any probability of being instrumentall in her remove; forgetting that the persons of princes have been thought by all wise men too sacred to have any hand or justice appeare in their death but Gods. Now, as these studied all waies to destroy her, so there was as considerable a faction in the English court that desired her preservation, the cause not only that held her long captive (many wishing her restraint that abhorred her execution), but deterred all who had either estate or honour to loose, from attempting in their owne person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as

to make her away: though our queene may be found in many of her letters intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of Davison, who unadvisedly ventering between the honour and safety of his prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and shame of the other.[1] Thus, because no body either would or durst do it alone, the reproach was intayled upon the whole nation, by the apparition of a mimical and counterfeit justice: reason of state, in such nice points as these, being so contrary to that in the schooles, as it is most safe and honourable when it hath the

[1] Pawlet and Drury obstinately resisted every hint, although several expressive letters were written upon the subject. Davison's history is well known. He was the under-secretary who dispatched the warrant for executing Mary, and was disgraced as having put it into execution without authority. Abundance of proof upon both points, and sufficient to convict Elizabeth of the most exquisite and unprincipled hypocrisy in the whole affair, may be found under the article DAVYSON, in the *Biographia Britannica*.

least authority to vouch it. And if the actors of this tragedy had not found more security from the long reigne of Elizabeth, then the applause they had from Scotland was able to have afforded them upon the next change, I believe so many of their race had not sate in the House of Lords. Nor was the amorous rather then traiterous blood of the duke of Norfolke, spilt on the scaffold for her sake, more consonant to justice or the affections of her subjects, though quietly indured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make answer or give a perfect account, some to justice, others to discretion. This proves, that the common people are like rivers, which do seldome grow so impetuous as to transcend the banks of obedience, but upon the overflowing of an epidemicall and illegall oppression.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greatest blur I find objected to her honour, or prudence of those assisted at the helme, whose miscarriage lay more in the cere-

mony then substance of the thing, no lesse gratefull to the present affayres of the protestants in Scotland then England: it being the policy of those times, as I believe it ought to be of these, to render alliance no lesse acceptable to friends, then terrible to enimies, through a seasonable supply of men and mony before delay (the betrayer of all confederations) hath rendered affayres desperate: not omitted by her, who by sea and land made it her constant practice to annoy the Spaniard through the conduct of those sonnes of Neptune, Drake, Furbusher, Cavendish, Sir Walter Rawly, &c. and in that successful first expedition to Cales, under the command of Essex, (a man of a contexture not only suitable to a camp but gratefull to ladies,) by which the catholick king was so unexpectedly alarumed, as Cardinall D'Ossat ownes it for the most universall opinion, that the whole nation, or a great part of it, might have been gained, had he prosecuted his immediate fortune to the extent of their feares; a number of the Mo-

risco race desiring in that juncture to change their master, for one more Christian, though lesse catholick, and under whom no inquisition was exercised. This made his coming back so soone thought as miraculous as his successe by those that were strangers to his commission, which he exceeded upon the temptation of a present terrour his landing caused in the inhabitants, who, in a confidence of their castles, had removed none of their goods, which rendered the booty so farre considerable as few returned empty handed, and many, by their future living, made demonstration of so great an abundance, that he gained so much love on all sides as his enemies durst not impute to him for a fault, any direction he had transgressed, in being too prodigall in exposing himselfe and the army to danger; though his abusing that article of making knights so apparently, had produced this libel:

A gentleman of Wales,
With a knight at Cales,
And a lord of the north country,

A yeoman of Kent
Upon a rack't rent
Will buy them out all three.

This happy successe did not only estate him in the affections of the militia and those addicted to the service of Mars, but put a no lesse high esteeme on his counsells and indeavours, then it abated the pride[1] of his opposers, the most of whom belonged to the side-robe[2] (not seldome at odds in warre, but ever at enmity with souldiers during peace,) who grew jealous that this sparke, worne already in the same place of the queenes affection, from whence Lecester, that terrestriall Lucifer, was cast, for abusing his soveraignes favour to pride and murther, might, through the queenes mediation, or his owne arts, one day gaine the crowne, to the prejudice of their interest, who had already vowed the uttermost of their indeavours to the Scotish title; of whom he had this advantage, that whereas

[1] *Price*, in orig. [2] *i. e.* Long-robe.

Lecester was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongst the rest, of the Earle of Essex his father in Ireland,[1] this abounded in their love no lesse then in the favour of his prince, in whose heart his person had made as deep an impression, as his valour and affable nature had wonne upon her subjects.

6. That she fomented divisions abroad I hinted before; and now I must tell you she was not wanting in her indeavours to maintaine factions at home, by which she attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: so as no suite or designe passed the royal assent, before she understood as much of reason as enimies or friends could bring for and against it; hearing the judgments of all, to her very ladies and ordinary servants: nor did this freedome of communication betray her future resolutions to discovery; for, through a seeming uncon-

[1] Walter, Earl of Essex, father of the favourite, was supposed to be poisoned by his own page, at the instigation of Leicester, who married his widow.

stancy, or, as others will have it, one more naturall, she did so often vary, as it was not easy to discover where or when she would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage, she so befooled the spyes and pensioners of forraine princes, as they were at a losse what to informe their patrons of, or themselves how to resolve: The cause of the Spanish armado in eighty-eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the Flemings, and all acquainted with our seas, and only brought about through the over-confidence his holinesse had in a catholick party, which he assured himselfe would appeare upon the approach of a navy, stiled by him *invincible*. Here may be noted, that counsels grounded upon forraine advice, or any thing but a visible experience, do rarely succeed; for interest in such as desire a change doth not seldome make them apprehend more advantages then really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a feare to dishearten the prince they in-

deavour to imbark in their defence; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the Spaniard:[1] the very papists themselves being no lesse unwilling then the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in strangers.

7. But to be sure the former-mentioned art of dissembling with others had stamped such a deepe impression upon the queenes owne nature and passions, as she fixed upon nothing with precipitation. The distrust she had of all sides obliging her to the justice of equall hearings, which few in soveraignty will be at the trouble to afford: And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared so long in favour of

[1] Anthony Brown, Lord Viscount Montague, a zealous catholic, and the only temporal peer who ventured to oppose the act for the queen's supremacy in the first year of her reign, did nevertheless bring to the rendezvous at Tilbury, upon the alarm raised by the Spanish armada, a gallant band of horsemen, commanded by himself, his son, and his grandson: thus periling his whole house in the expected conflict.

Essex; who becoming wanton from his late successe, though after moderated by some lesse happy, he grew into such heats and insolences towards any his jealousy had marked for enemies, that the queene, to keep even the scales betweene him and those of the Cecilian party, not only forbore to pamper him with new favours, but did not seldome frowne upon him; though he had yet so true a friend of her affection, that, upon the least semblance of submission, and promise of returne to a better temper, it did mediate for him: Love, like a bone, becoming more strong by breaches; he being certaine, upon every reconciliation, to receive from her double the value of that her anger had cost him; till these frequent repetitions of his faults and her forgivenesse had swelled him into such a confidence of his owne mediation, that he looked upon all as enemies, that in their words or actions acknowledged not his friendship, or, which was very ordinary in respect of his profuse liberality, did not weare some badge of his

favour. And amongst a number of these, Sir Francis Bacon was one, who, in an apology he printed to vindicate his fame from the imputation of ingratitude to Essex, confesseth him farre richer in obligations then payments; the fate of all that set too high a value upon friends purchased by any other coyne, then what beares the impresse of an interest depending upon a future hope; it being the policy of courtiers, if not the nature of love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the most part in expectation. Now, because the generality of such as desired his ruine might think that the favour his mistress shewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity then I have been informed it did, by such as reported her apter both in her selfe and others to kindle the flames of love, then quench them, they placed Blunt,[1] a gallant gentleman, and of an ho-

[1] Sir Charles Blunt, successively Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, was, according to Morrison, "of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person," qualities which soon recommended

nourable extraction, in the ball of her eye, hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortall to them and their designes: but the whole result concluding in a duell, did rather inflame then abate the former account she made of him; the opinion of a champion being more splendid (in the weak and romantick sense of women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quar-

him to the notice of the virgin queen. Having distinguished himself by his address at a tilting, the queen sent him a golden chess, richly enamelled, which he wore *en cavalier*, in the presence-chamber, attached to his arm with a crimson ribband. Essex taking offence at this ostentation, said openly, "I see every fool must have a favour;" words which occasioned the duel mentioned in the text. They fought near Mary-bone, and Essex was wounded in the thigh, and disarmed. When the queen learned the incident, she swore by God's death, it was time some one should take Essex down, or there would be no rule with him. The two combatants became intimate friends; and as the better star of Mountjoy had predominated in the duel, he was afterwards equally successful in the enterprise against Tyrone, in which Essex lost reputation, and became obnoxious to that persecution which occasioned his insurrection and death. See FRAGMENTA REGALIA, under the articles ESSEX and MOUNTJOY.

rell but themselves,) and farre above that of a captaine or generall: So, as Sir Edmund Cary, brother to the Lord Hunsden, then chamberlaine, and near kinsman to the queene (from whose mouth I have most of this,) told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better then a conceit she had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher esteeme then an impartiall eare or eye can think due from others report or her owne pictures) was the subject of this quarrell; when, God knowes, it grew from the stock of honour, of which then they were very tender, and some meane expressions Essex used of Blunt, about his being employed in Ireland, and not her amorous caresses, which age, and in a manner an universall distribution of them had by this time rendered tedious, if not loathsome; intimated in a modest expression, uttered in my hearing by Sir Walter Rawley, none of her least respected servants, who, upon some discourse of the Duke of Buckingham, said to this

purpose, That minions were not so happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and sometimes unnaturall imployments. [1]

8. But his enemies finding all complaints made to his disadvantage, though true, neglected, or hung upon the file amongst such as she resolved at her better leasure to inquire into the proofes of, and remaining as obstinate in a resolution to destroy him as she did yet appeare in his preservation; did indeavour, as a last refuge, to actuate his destruction, by accumulating upon him such high favours and honours as they observed most sutable to his humour, and fortunes of the sword-men, through whose counsells they found him the most easy to be led, and amongst whom many were placed neere his person by themselves; and

[1] Osborne seems to strain this passage in extending its meaning to the favourites of Elizabeth. Raleigh obviously spoke of the minions of James, and enough occurs in these volumes to vindicate the meaning which it conveys.

from these they received, upon all emergencies, advice of his carriage: It faring with him as it doth ordinarily betide honest and generous natures, that perish oftener through confidence then distrust. Nor could any other meanes have removed this court leviathan (too deeply strook with the harping-irons of malice) from the ocean of favour he lay in, but so ample a commission as might give his ambition full power and room to expatiate in, by which he was most likely to be tug'd a-ground; not wise enough to apprehend many things he found inserted in his patent, as liberty to pardon, or punish the Irish rebells sutable to his owne will, and power to reward with lands or honours all he esteemed worthy, were such flowers of the crown as his enemies (to the disadvantage of whose friends he might imploy them) could not in reason but have found cause to oppose, had they been picked out for any milder designe, then to deck a garland for that head they meant to sacrifice to their malice and re-

venge. But this being acted (though long before studied) amongst the last scenes of her tragedy, I shall deferre the conclusion till some other time, indeavouring here (according to my weak fancy, prompted only by report) to draw a prospect of her court; where, all her raigne, majesty and thrift did strive for preeminence, without incroaching upon any confine either of basenesse or prodigality. Nor can this be wondered at by such as know the power she derived from law, or custome to be furnished with all provisions at a set price, by which a heavy imposition was cut off, found by experience to load greatnesse, seldome admitted to a cheap market; sellers recompensing their want of honour, by the excise they put on such as owne it. And because this was arbitrary at the will of the Greene Cloth, (a court only intending provision and carriages) the purveyors, upon whom lay the execution, and so by consequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every accuser, being not seldome hang'd or put

in the pillory, upon the discovery sometimes of small abuses: Her government appearing so full of policy, as she was rarely found to interpose the power of the crowne in her owne cause; who, by turning her face towards the sinnes, and countenancing the punishment of such harpies, did besides stop the future current of their corruption, through which she became not only better served, but gained an opinion of justice and mercy towards her people: it being the male-administration, more then badnesse of any office, I ever knew during her raigne or her successours, legally erected, that raised murmuring in the people, the il-boding voice of sedition, which, if heard, is not to be neglected, but, like the sea, stopped by the bankes of justice; for, if once it growes epidemicall, all indeavours do rather inflame then moderate it, as thought to proceed more from necessity then love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to insert a story as it was related by an eye witnesse. A purveyor having abused the

county of Kent, upon her remove to Greenwich (whether she often resorted, being, as I have heard, the first ayre she breathed, and therefore most likely to agree with her,) a country man watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himselfe within the reach of her eare, did, after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud, Which is the queen? whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him, and he continuing still his question, she herselfe answered, I am your queen, what wouldst thou have with me? You, replied the fellow, are one of the rarest women I ever saw, and can eate no more then my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lasse in our parish, though short of you; but that Queene Elizabeth I looke for, devours so many of my hennes, ducks, and capons, as I am not able to live. The queene, no lesse auspicious to all sutes

made through the mediation of her comly shape, of which she held a high esteeme after her looking glasses, (long laid by before her death,) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her face, then malignant to all oppression above her owne, inquired who was purveyer, and, as the story went, suffered him to be hanged, after a speciall order for his triall, according to a statute formerly made to prevent abuses in this kind.

10. This princesse, in imitation of her father Henry the Eighth,[1] did admit none about her for pensioners, privy-chambermen, squires of the body, carvers, cup-bearers, sewers, &c. (that were not a few in number,) but persons of stature, strength, and birth, refusing to one her consent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meanest place in her house,) because he wanted a tooth; yet was never knowne to desert any for age or other infirmity af-

[1] It was long said of Henry VIII., by the voice of tradition, that he loved a *man*.

ter once inrolled, but either continued them, or, upon their discharge, gave them considerable and well-paid pensions. As for her guard, ushers, porters, and all attending below stayers, they were of a no lesse extraordinary size, then activity for shooting, throwing the barre, weight, wrastling, &c. So that such as came hither from beyond the seas, upon embasy or curiosity (who calculate the strength, wisdome, and honour of a nation, by the apparitions they behold at court,) had no other cause but to report at their returne, that though a feminine constellation governed the fate of England, yet there remained little hope to any forraigne malignity of operating with successe; because her designes were begotten under Mercury, and brought forth by the assistance of Mars in case of opposition: She owning souldiers no lesse able to act, then counsellours to advise; in whose choyce (for the most part) wisdome was solely looked upon, not putting by sufficiency, though ac-

companied with a meane birth,[1] and crooked person, as it chanced in a father and sonne of the Cecills, both incomparable for prudence. It being sometimes necessary to make wise men noble, where noblemen are too lazy and addicted to pleasure to indeavour to be wise.

11. It is the highest step of advantage a prince can meet with, to have for a counsell about him, persons whose fortunes are of the same piece with his owne: The consideration of which may abate the wonder Queene Elizabeth prospered so well at the beginning, when incumbered both within and without by such difficulties, or how she came to out-reach (before scarce able to stand upon her owne leggs) so exact a master in king-craft as the Spaniard. I confesse her being a woman did render the delay of marriage more sutable to his pa-

[1] The *mean birth* refers to that of Lord Burleigh, whose father, Richard Cecil, was master of the robes to Henry VIII. The *deformed person* was that of Robert, Earl of Salisbury, his second son, who was hump-backed.

tience and her honour, then otherwise it could have been; but the dexterous management of this advantage must be attributed to the great wit of her juncto, amongst whom her greatest confidents were of the Augustan confession, and therefore unlikely to continue in favour, if in being, after such a conjunction as Philip the Second desired. Nor could distance of place, the deluder of eyes, hinder the inspection of that prince, who, having commanded in England some yeares under the right of Mary, could not but in probability heare all that was to be knowne. And if we may guesse at the queenes carriage in this, by her proceedings in the two treaties of marriage after with France, we may presume she did purchase this delay, (if not buy off the discovery of some infirmity) with the articles of her opinion contrary to those of Rome, and to which, as appears by an old letter, the catholick king was not at that time averse. Though, upon her deluding him, to avoid such a schisme in the Lower

Germany, as had happened in the Upper, he did indeavour to introduce the inquisition: Fortune having rendered him so indulgent from the beginning to the queenes preservation, that he sold the Low-Countryes, the only place able to purchase her peace, a bargaine (as I have heard from the Earl of Lecester, the last English man governour of Flushing) fomented by those that treated this match for her majesty: which found, Pope Pius darted out the former mentioned excommunication, till then restrained through the mediation of Philip. I shall not determine whether it was godly zeale or worldly interest that prompted their judgments to these accurate counsells, since I finde both in some part gratified by future successe: though I see cause enough in the latter to imploy all the braines, both of the protestants and papists in power about her; the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other abby-lands to the continuance of it: for though Sir John Parsons told me he had seene a bull amongst Mr Sel-

dens Antiquities, by which the pope confirmed the lands of the church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in other respects continued under his obedience; yet whether this might be safely trusted to,[1] I leave in suspence, and to their consideration, that may remember they were fifty yeares ago valued much below other titles and demeanes.

12. The cause, it may be thought interest as much as love in her privy counsell, that till Lecesters daies, none are found to have

[1] If ever such a bull was passed, there might be great reason to doubt how far it would have been adhered to, had England again become catholic. The point was much canvassed in James the Second's reign, when the English Benedictines actually executed a renunciation of the abbey lands belonging to their order before the Reformation: but the canon law declared, that even the pope could not ratify such alienation of the demesnes of the church, and the council of Trent had formerly anathematized all possessors of church lands. The protestants, therefore, viewed with terror, promises which might always be broken whenever the power of the catholic clergy was equal to compel resumption. See in the State Tracts, a piece entitled, "Abbey Lands not assured to Catholics."

received pensions from forraine princes, or to play booty, or deale treacherously in his imployments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and gainfull offices during her abode at the helme given to men of no larger capacities then were meerly requisite to the execution of the place; but bestowed upon such publique spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affaires, by which the charge of their support was borne, and the common-weale served with men under a double capacity. Now, though we must yield to Solomon, that safety is to be found in a multitude of counsellors; yet secrecy is commonly absent in all assemblies but where a few resolve; for which, and perfect intelligence from abroad (the light and director of the bark of prudence) if any age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the daies of Burghly and Walsingham in this particular; whose steps Archbishop Bancroft followed so close, as, by fomenting a difference between the jesuites and regulars, he made a breach in

their unity, the strongest argument they have to support the papacy;[1] and, illuminated by so cleare a judgment, did, through their clashing, make so perfect an inspection into the secular practices of the consistory in Rome, as he prevented many dangers might have other waies fallen upon the nation; for which Blackwell, the then popish metropolitan, lay under some suspicion from the contrary faction, how justly I know not. Yet have heard, that no priest was landed any time in England, but the bishop had a perfect character of his temper and relations; the easier brought about

[1] Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Whitgift in 1604. He was a zealous supporter of the peculiar ceremonies of the church of England; but while he vigorously opposed the puritans, he was equally active in dividing and undermining the catholic interest. Partly for this purpose, and partly to encourage the more loyal part of the English catholics, he furnished the secular priests of their clergy with the means of supporting their feud with the jesuits; and, in requital, a number of the seculars were induced to sign a declaration of their attachment to the reigning family, which they lodged in his hands. See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 664.

by him that (in the estimation of the puritans) owned most of their tenents, being beside no rigid persecuter of any who had not in his composition the gall of treason mixed with religion: the regulars being then in a high esteeme, because their opposers the jesuits were about that time banished France, and their cells demolished, with a pyramid erected to their infamy, for an indeavour to assassinate Henry the Fourth. And from this indulgence of the archbishop grew more security then danger, because such priests as were connived at (the most of other orders) looked upon the jesuits as enemies, and all new-comers of their owne under a no milder aspect then intruders on their profit; and therefore the more inquisitive after their conditions, and, if found pragmaticall, it was no hard matter to purchase their remove by the mediation of one so neere the helme as the bishop was, who, besides the quality of secrecy remaining so constant to his promise, as it was more safety then danger for them to

rely upon his word. And that some cunning seminaries did indeavour the monopolizing amongst themselves all the profit to be made by the English catholickes, I have a presumption of mine owne from a priest I met with on the other side the water, who told me he lived farre better during the tyranny (as he was pleased to call it) of Queene Elizabeth, then since the licence afforded under King James, by which divers young schollars, of both the universities, were daily tempted into orders, and many (restrained before out of love to their safety) did now goe over in shoales, to the great detriment of the old standers. Yet, notwithstanding the incomparable diligence of this prelate, under two princes, for the preservation of peace and unity, he was abominated by the preciser sort, the heat of whose zeale appeares the more unnaturall, because their mouths were furred with bitter and unsavory invectives, which followed him after the hand of death had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but

what is due to his desert from charity and gratitude. Therefore, to be strongly presumed, the worst malice could invent, and inserted by me, according to the mode of an historian, whose plow (for the sake of posterity) I wish I were able to drive; however, I am no waies correspondent for the praise or blame due to any verses found here, such as these:-

Here lyes my lords grace, at six, and at seaven,
And, if I do not lie, his soule is in heaven:
I wish with my heart it may be to his leeking,
Since all the world knowes it was never his seeking.

ANOTHER.

Bancroft was for plaies,
Leane Lent, and holy-daies,
But now under goes their doome:
Had English ladies store,
Yet kept open a back-dore
To let in the strumpet of Rome.[1]

I confesse I have heard him charactered for a joviall doctor, but very jealous of the cler-

[1] To these effusions of puritanical satire, another libel may be added. Bancroft cancelled a will, in which he had bequeathed a considerable legacy to ecclesias-

gies revenue, no lesse then his countries safety, which he indeavoured to bring about through a reduction of Britanny into one forme of worship, by the traine of Calvine most rigidly opposed: but the two contrary factions at court, (one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed the other laboured to preserve,) did, upon the vacancy of every bishoprick, put one in sutable to their humours that had the luck to prevaile. The cause the present incumbent did, like the web of Penelope, unravell what his predecessour had with more policy and charity twisted:' By which meanes, the diocesses

tical purposes, on which the following distich appeared:

> He who never repented of doing ill,
> Repented once that he made a good will.
>
> See FULLER'S *Worthies, Lancashire.*

The same author informs us, that, when some one shewed the primate a libel against him, "Cast it," said he, nothing moved thereat, "to an hundred more that lie in a heap in my chamber." If none of them were more poignant than those quoted in the text, there was little merit in his equanimity.

' The successor of Bancroft was the learned and wor-

of Canterbury and Yorke were at one and the same time of contrary judgments, and the best of clergy men (driven into a medium by the scorching heate of the one side, and chill indifferency of the other,) lost their labour, and all hope of preferment in

thy Archbishop Abbot. Being supposed to lean as much towards the puritans as his predecessor towards the moderate catholics, the change of system which he introduced was severely censured by Clarendon, in the following account of his promotion:

"He had scarce performed any part of the office of a bishop, in the diocess of London, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never-enough-lamented death of Dr Bancroft, that metropolitan, who understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the spirit of the non-conformists, by and after the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva; or, if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overal, or any man who understood and loved the church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled."—CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion*. Oxford, 1705, 8vo. vol. i. p. 88.

a vaine indeavour for a reconciliation, unpossible to be brought about; the one party being fometed by hypocrisy to bear out their ignorance, and the other from power, and a feare of reverting into the primitive austerity: which held so long in this unconstant vicissitude, till what was continued meerly out of policy at court, did in a short time branch forth in city and country into divers popular differences, sutable to the mold of every head, and the interest of such persons as had the subtilty to fit them to their occasions: Zele, like lead, being as ready to drop into bulletts, as to mingle with a composition fit for medicine. So, as in those daies, it was unpossible for men in power but to be scandalous to one side or other.

13. Dispatches from the counsell table, (of which I have seene volumes,) began and held on throughout in a plaine and the same stile, not seldome admitting of severall constructions, if of any interpretation at all, where the businesse related to a thing whose

consequence could not easily been seen into: as appeares at the beginning of all treaties, and especially in the two offers of marriage with France, which the queen managed with such dexterity and secrecy, that wise Walsingham, (as appeares by his letters,) through whose hands the whole businesse passed, did not know certainly whether she was reall or no; but, in what was thought proper for transaction, all things were plaine drawne in Latine: this put together, did much facilitate the office of her secretaries.

14. Now, as wisdome and secrecy appeared in her counsell-chamber, so hospitality, charity, and splendor, were dilated over the whole court; where, upon the least acquaintance, all strangers from the noble man to the pesant, were invited to one table or other, (of which she kept abundance, wherever she removed from one standing house to another, unlesse she returned to White-hall at night,) the least considerable suting with three, foure, or five hundred

pounds per annum expence; and for bread, beere, and wine, (commonly called by the name of *budge*,) though the purveyors that brought it in were called to strict accounts, such as issued them out were rarely questioned, but in case they sold it: and by this generosity, the ordinary sort of people were so indeared, as I have knowne some brag of their entertainment at court twenty yeares after; such, like dogges, seldome biting those have once fed them, though with the same meate they have been at the paines to catch themselves; it coming all out of the country mans barnes or yards, the wine being little when custome was abated.

15. Yet, though she was thus plentifully provided of all things at home, she did not seldome fetch an entertainment at such grandees houses, as were understood to be most popular: By which, she removed her subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of these inferiour starres, and fixed them upon a greater splendor of her owne: besides her out-doing them in the art of po-

pularity, acting to the life the pageant of the people, (which all princes really are, and the wisest the most gaudy,) from whence it is farre more indeering to throw flowers then wild-fire. And if this her affability did not work upon the will, the greatnesse of their expence did not faile to render them lesse able to hurt: And in case this was not sufficient to moderate their ambitious thirst after popularity, she found them diversions in forraigne imployments, whither they were sent embassadours or agents, by which their estates were gelt, and the owners rendered the lesse rampant, and unable to maintaine their former bewitching humour of hospitality; so, as in parliaments, they became assertors of the profit of the crowne, in hope to have such debts refunded as had beene contracted by themselves in the service of the state; whose honour she preserved at the lowest expence that ever prince did, and not seldom at their charge, who might otherwise have imployed their revenues in fomenting sedition.

16. The parliament, knowing not where to fix upon a successour to the crowne without the hazard of religion, or danger of a civill warrè, the regent[1] of Scotland having yet no child, and being too strongly supported from France to miscarry under a title so firmely built as the catholicks maintained hers was to this nation, (if not in present,) upon the death of the queene, did, in the first petition they made, invite her majesty to take a husband: in which they minded more their future then present felicity, not so likely to result from a married as a single prince, whose expense cannot choose but swell proportionable to the offspring produced. And in this they were so moderate, as to passe by all mention of a successour, ever ungratefull to her eares during the whole series of her raigne, and not seldome fatall to such as were so hardy as to move it: So, as it cost some dearer,

[1] Queen Mary of Scotland, then married to the Dauphin of France.

and Pigot and Wentworth their liberty, though they proposed it in parliament; the safety she her selfe found in the concealing her intent, out-voting the danger of a civill warre, which, in all humane reason, could not but impend the nation, in case of her death: For, whilest she observed this impartiall neutrality, none could pretend cause of complaint. And in case any one had made ostentation of a title before the people, she had the rest ready to asperse it; there remaining none free from objections, the most legitimate in appearance passing for an alien, and so uncapable, or an enemy, and so incompetent to governe: It being as impossible to please as dangerous to oppose the weakest interest of the papist, puritan, or protestant. But to this request of her great counsell, (which she could not hinder, being the desire of the court, as well as the sense of the parliament,) she returned a stout, though but an uncertaine answer, as is legible in the common chronicles, whose recitalls I professe wilfully to

shunne, feeding my pen rather with such scraps as I have picked out of letters and discourse, the store house of tradition. Not so likely to flatter, if to lye, as the writings of those meane contemporaries, that for the most part have imbarked their pens in our English affaires; who had still some feare or hope at their elbowes ready to jog them towards the interest of the present or future governours: Confessed, by learned Cambden himselfe, whose lines were directed by King James, and he lead rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his mother, then to do right for a mistris, that had from a school-master raised him to a capacity of being the first king at armes.

17. Her sex did beare out many impertinences in her words and actions, as her making Latine speeches in the universities,[2]

[2] Specimens of her majesty's Latin oratory, delivered to the universities, may be found in PECK'S *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 271, and 277. On both occasions, she affected a repugnance to speak in public, which was of course earnestly combated and subdued by the attendant courtiers, who besought her, on their knees, "to

and professing her selfe in publique a muse, then thought something too theatricall for a virgine prince, but especially in her treaties relating to marriage; towards which, some thought her uncapable by nature, others too propense, as may be found in the black relations of the jesuites, and some French and Spanish pasquilers, that pretend to be more learned in the art of inspection; then wise Henry the Fourth their king, who, in a joviall humour, told a Scotish marques, there were three things inscrutable to intelligence, 1. Whether Maurice, then Prince of Orange, (who never fought battaile, as he said,) was valiant in his person. 2. What religion himself was of. 3. Whether Queene Elizabeth was a maid or no: which may render all reports dubious that come from

speak somewhat to the university, and in Latin." An instance of her ready wit occurs, p. 276. As Dr Humphreys, a puritanical opposer of the ecclesiastical habits, approached in his turn to kiss her hand, "Mr Doctor," said the queen, smiling, "that *loose* gown becomes you mighty well; I wonder your notions should be so *narrow*."

meaner men; yet, it may be true, that the ladies of her bed-chamber denied to her body the ceremony of searching and imbalming, due to dead monarchs: [1] But that she had a son bred in the state of Venice, and a daughter, I know not where, nor when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a romance, then to mingle with so much truth

[1] Queen Elizabeth, if we may believe Brantome, had heard of some such scandal as is here insinuated; and, to remove it, shewed the French ambassador her leg as high at least as the garter, that he might be satisfied it was only her affection for her people, and no personal consideration, which inclined her to a state of single blessedness. The gallant Frenchman kissed the beauties thus magnanimously displayed, and protested, that, had his master's eyes been so enriched, the delights of paradise could not have given him equal rapture. There are also some strange insinuations in the trial of the unfortunate Lord High Admiral Seymour, brother of the Protector, not entirely to the honour of our virgin queen's discretion. Among other odd familiarities, Seymour sent her a message, desiring to know if her large buttocks were grown any less. After all, we may perhaps conclude with Count Hamilton,

—— en fait de virginité,
Ce fut une etrange pucelle.

and integrity as I professe: In which, if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledg, or their ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable instrument of honour, peace, and safety to this now unhappy nation, would have been then valued by the people of England above the loftiest branch in the Calydonian grove. Who, as she was the choycest artist in king-craft that ever handled the scepter in this northern climate, so she went beyond all her ancestors in adapting to her service the most proper tooles, in whose fittest applications she was seldome mistaken; the only cause can be given why she so rarely changed her secret counsell, especially those she made privy to any of her last results, which did not weakly contribute to her safety: such resembling keyes, that, once lost or misplaced, no future security remaines but in changing the lock. And though this hath already fallen under my consideration, yet I am forced to resume it

againe in the vindication of the choyce of some officers, about the middle of her raigne, accused since for weaknesse; which, if not a mistake, made by envy, or for want of an exact understanding of the parties use; some being placed, after the counsell grew numerous, only to tell tales, and ballance votes she disliked in publique, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to inland affaires, it being ordinary with the generality to esteeme wisdome according to measure, rather then weight. And amongst these few can be found out of her kindred, or such friends as her fathers honour, or her owne gratitude for kindnesse shewed during the life of her sister, kept her from excluding them the lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholy imployd when her occasions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more then the honour and profit of Lord High Admirall in-

trusted with the Earl of Notingham,[1] but executed by a commission, selected out of the ablest seamen that age did afford; he being imployd for his fidelity, knowne to be impregnable in relation to corruption: Neither was there a goodlier man for person in Europe, as my eyes did witnesse, though they met not with him before he

[1] This was the celebrated Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, and afterwards Earl of Nottingham, under whose conduct the invincible armada was defeated; and who had a principal share in the taking of Cadiz. He is characterized by Lloyd, as "a man of most approved fidelity and invincible courage, and governor of Callice; though a courtier betimes, yet seemed not to be in favour before the queen made him High Admiral of England. For his extract, it may suffice, that he was the son of a Howard, and of a Duke of Norfolk. As for his person, he was as goodly a gentleman as the times could afford; he was one whom the queen desired to honour, who, at his return from Cadiz, was created Earl of Nottingham. He was a good, honest, and a brave man, and a faithful servant to his mistress; and such a one as the queen, out of her own princely judgement, knew to be a fit instrument for the admiral's service, having a great opinion of his fidelity and conduct. And though his death was not honoured with much wealth, yet was it graced with the reputation of honesty." Lloyd's *State Worthies*, 1670, p. 735.

was turned towards the point of eighty, no youth being more celebrated for gallantry and good fortune then his. I confesse, that in his age, he married a young lady,[1] allied to King James, which set his wisdome many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But, to discharge this cavill from any farther dispute, no prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her subjects abilities to serve her, or made a deeper inspection into their aptitude, nature, and humours; to which, with a rare dexterity, she fitted her favours and their imployments: as may be instanced in Francis Vere, a man nobly descended, Walter Rawly exactly qualified, with many others set a-part in her judgment for military services, whose titles she never raised above knighthood; saying, when importuned to make General Vere

[1] This young lady was Margaret, daughter to James, Earl of Murray; who was, in right of his wife, co-heir to the celebrated regent, and allied consequently to James I. It was to obtain some provision for this lady that he resigned his office of High Admiral to the rising favourite Buckingham.

a baron, that, in his proper sphere, and in her estimation, he was above it already; therefore, all could be expected from such an addition, would be the intombing of the spirit of a brave souldier, in the corps of a lesse sightly courtier; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a carpet, his valour had dearly purchased him in the field. Nor could she indure to see her subjects weare the titles of a forraigne prince; the cause she committed Sir Matthew Arrondell of Warder[1] in the west, for accepting from the German Cæsar the dig-

[1] Osborne is here inaccurate; it was Thomas Arundel, son of Sir Matthew Arundel, and afterwards Lord Arundel, of Wardour, who was created Count of the Empire by Rodolph II., on account of various exploits against the Turks, and particularly, because, at storming the Water-Tower, near Strigonium, he had taken the enemies' banner with his own hand. For accepting this foreign honour, he was imprisoned by Elizabeth on his return to England. The letters which passed between the emperor and the queen upon this subject, may be found in Rymer's Fædera, tom. xvi, p. 284. Arundel's "Apologie for accepting the Honour of *Comes Imperij*" is published in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, and shews, that the young hero knew the style in which the maiden queen loved to be ad-

nity of a count, and denied Sir Philip Sidney the crowne of Poland.[1]

18. The example of modesty her souldiers exprest in the Nether-lands, rarely found amongst auxiliaries, with her refusall to owne or impose the name of her vassals upon the Dutch, gained her a huge confidence amongst her neighbours, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more destructive ambition, than the preservation of her honour, and those nations her birth no lesse than desert had presented her with; which made them unapter to offend her; none but catholicks, and

dressed. "As for myself, I do sufficiently know, that imprisonment and her majesty are not *accidentia inseparabilia*. Wherefore, I hope, after this purgatory, to enjoy the smiling light of those double sun-beams, in whose gracious acceptance stands the sum total of my earthly happiness. My enlargement would be dear to me, but nought in respect of the blissful favour of the dearest."—Vol. ii. p. 280.

[1] Naunton alleges, that when, "through the fame of his desert, he was in election for the kingdom of Pole, she refused to further his preferment, not out of emulation of his advancement, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her time."

they for the most part priests, wishing her remoove, as not knowing where to find a prince lesse offensive and more debonaire; the cause many treasons concluded in the losse of their heads that projected them, or sought to put them in execution. Yet, in this, her temperament of desire in relation to augmentation of empire, her prudence so minded her of the nations future safety, as that friends under persecution doe not seldome face about upon the approach of security and power: wherefore, she made sure of Flushing and Brill; which, in regard of situation, were so full a content of their whole strength, as the application of it could not, upon their miscarriage in relation to the catholicke king, or their own future ingratitude, obliterate the advantage England might make of that revolt: though the mony lent cover'd it in reason and justice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had she imployed force or fraud in their purchase. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the French hugonots,

Havre de Grace (upon a like exigency) signify more ambition than the reduction of Calis; which might have undoubtedly succeeded, had she not, according to her usuall custom, starved the designe for want of mony and men; a fault the more excusable, because it relates to the tender care and respect had of her subjects lives and estates. And here, by the way, it was worth noting, that the Holanders could not so easily have attayned freedom, but through the help of the ministers of Spaine, who, by eradicating the antient nobility and gentry, reduced them into a parity; and so by consequence made them capable of unity, the nource of all combinations.

19. Amongst all her minions, none (according to report) bad fairer for the queens brid-bed than Lecester, who, finding, by the continuall high beating of her heart, that she would never allow of so great an abatement of soveraignty as a match with a forraine prince, could not but in honour have the sayles of his expectation somewhat

sweld therewith. He would, in her gayeties, (which, 'till the death of Essex, were very frequent,) aske her, "If she did not think she had some subjects of her owne, able (though it must be confessed none worthy) to make an heire for the kingdom of England, since her father was known to doe it, yet a man, and so uncapable of any eclipse of honour by the highest princesse? Neither did his often repeated condescentions in making subjects his after-wives breed him that danger that he sustained by the first glorious match, (according to expectation,) that he made with the sister of Charles the Emperor, which all the prudence he owned could not unravel without strayning the cordes of government, if not conscience, by that desperate leape he made out of the church of Rome, and separating himselfe from the union of other princes. Nor did Philip the Second prove more happy to your sister for the present, nor to the future expectation of the nation, that lacked nothing to intaile servitude up-

on them but an heire of her body; which yet had not been wanting, according to report, but supplied by a cushion; but that the generosity of the Spaniard, and the perswasion of a better successe from your imbraces, (which his hopes flattered him with,) did for the present make him to detest it: the cause it was after voyced to be a false conception." All which I have heard often, and read some where, though the author hath escaped my memory: nor could Lecester[1] render his bed vacant to a more

[1] It was generally believed, that Leicester caused his first wife, Anne Robart, to be murdered, thinking that she stood betwixt him and the chance of marrying Queen Elizabeth. She died at Conmore, or Cumnor-Hall, in Berkshire, 8th September, 1560, of a fall, as was said, over a staircase. But the author of that virulent satire, entitled, "Leicester's Commonwealth," takes the following view of the subject:

"For, first, his lordship hath a speciall fortune, that, when he desireth any woman's favour, then what person soever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example, when his lordship was in full hope to marry her majesty, and his own wife stood in his light, as he supposed, he did but send her aside to the house of his servant, Forster

thriving end, (as he is rumor'd to have done,) than to make roome for the greatest and

of Cumnor, by Oxford, where, shortly after, she had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to break her neck; but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney, who, by commandment, remained with her that day alone, with one man only, and had sent away, per force, all her servants from her to a market, two miles off; he, (I say,) with his man, can tell how she died: which man, being taken afterward for a fellony, in the marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison: and Sir Richard himself dying about the same time in London, cried pitiously, and blasphemed God: and said to a gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did teare him in pieces. The wife also of the Bald Butler, kinsman to my lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to return unto my purpose, this was my lord's good fortune to have his wife dye at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit."

The fate of this unfortunate lady is often alluded to in the plays and satires of the time. The author of the Yorkshire Tragedy, imputed to Shakespeare, thus hints at it:

> The surest way to charm a woman's tongue,
> Is, break her neck—a politician did it.

At her funeral sermon, preached at Oxford, Leicester's chaplain, meaning to say, "This poor lady, so pitifully killed," stumbled on the unhappy phrase, "so piti-

most fortunate princes the sun ever looked upon, without blushing, in relation to oppression or blood: This may be allowed upon the score of probability, that his lordship would hardly have been so rampant and uncivill, without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her presence from an other privy-counsellor, more zealous possibly than discreet, to whom, when the queen sayd, he had forfeited his hand; his reply was, he hoped she would suspend that judgment, till the traytor had lost his head, who did better deserve it: But this accident, bordering so neere the confines of her honor, did admit no farther debate; it being no other than she in a lesse sprightfull humor might have given him her selfe, none being more flexible to all kind of jollities than the mindes of princes

fully *murdered*," which made a strange impression on the hearers.

The fate of Leicester's first wife is the theme of a beautiful ballad, entitled, "Cumnor Hall," probably written by Julius Mickle. It is published in Evans' Collection of Old Ballads.

when unbent from publique affaires. Now, whether these amorosities were naturall, or meerely poeticall and personated, I leave to conjecture, that may ever find imployment in the actions of kings. This I am sure of, these gaudy gleams of favour shone not long upon any single person, but were soone eclipsed upon the apparition of a fresh sparke. And here to conclude any farther discourse of Lecester, he was a man of eminency for person, but branded by his enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in wisdom or integrity during his aboad in the Netherlands, where with no good succesee he executed the place of the queens generall.[1]

20. This princess used never to precipi-

[1] "He was sent governor by the queene (says Naunton) to the revolted states of Holland, where we reade not of his wonders; for they say, he had more of Mercury than he had of Mars, and that his devise might have beene, without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redivi.*" Sir Robert Carey, who went to serve under him as a volunteer, only observes how ill a brave war assorted with a poor-spirited commander.

tate a retaliation in reference to forraine injuries: by which her enemies had leasure given them to consider of a reparation, no lesse than her selfe of revenge in case of contumacy, and time to put her strength in the better array; manifest throughout her whole expedition into Scotland, where, though she had fomented such a party of the nobility of that nation as were able to receive and secure a force of her own, which upon their intercession she sent, yet was it without commission to fight or take notice of the crowne of France, from whom the Scotch queen was immediately assisted, but only against the house of Guise, that were meerely instrumentall in behalfe of their sister Mary. Contrary to the most ordinary practice of our lesse advised monarches, who, to gratify the clamor of a few imbargoed merchants, and to vindicate an honor capable of diminution, but from a totall neglect, or visible incapacity of being ever able to right it selfe, doe, like inconsiderate bees, in a rash and passionate distemper,

by misimploying their stings, (all the naturall force they have,) render themselves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unseasonable demonstration of the worst they can doe; which, till experimented, is for the most part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent calling parliaments, and not staying till she was compelled, kept them in so moderate a temper, as they were more awfull to the country than the court; where some grievances might be connived at, but never approved, so the easier accompted for when cal'd to question: nor doe I find her concession granted to any statute for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the most part before it was desired: Wisely projecting, that, when necessity is the chapman, the market doth naturally runne high. Therefore, being chast from all other intrusion upon the nations liberty, but what respected common safety and the honour of the crowne, she was able, without murmer, to

commit such of the House of Commons as presumed to medle or enquire who was most fit, or had the best right to succeed her. Neither was she lesse tender and jealous of disputes in religion, an apple in the eye of government, which, if once suffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the peoples mindes unsteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their prince: fondly imagining the first may be gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeale being the flint, and ambition the steele, out of which the sparkes of rebellion have in our dayes kindled the most fatall mischiefs; which she kept during her reigne from clashing, by denying the parliament all farther debate of ecclesiasticall ceremonies, and shewing them their no lesse injustice than levity to question what they had so firmly estated in her person, who was yet resolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themselves, or their fathers; so notorious to all, as the doctrine professed most generally in England bore in forraigne nations the

name of *parliament faith.* Nor was this her prudent restraint looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but Cartwright, and some such adle heads, whose judgments were trimmed according to the mode of Amsterdam; of whose distempered passions the queen made so much advantage, as to keep the church humble and quiet, whilest she gelt their sees by exchanges, and other mortifications of their power and estates, which, during her life, were not suffered to blaze out in their ecclesiasticall offices, as since they did: which is the only visible cause can be given, why so much worth as resided in this princess is so little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the less disturbance of the higher orbes, because few opposers of church-discipline were in her dayes eligible, or so much in favour with the people, being, for the most part oppressors, or indicted of hypocrisy; the most eminent for parts, titles, or estates, (as it fals out in relation to new schismes,) growing weary, or full satisfied

with the profit already gained by the great leap themselves, or their ancestors had made from Rome. Nor were the poorer sort better apayd when they compared the present hospitality with that reported of old before the religious houses were demolished, the cause I have not seldome my selfe heard them wish a returne to the catholick church under the title of the *old learning*: Not so well pleased with the saving doctrine of the protestant profession, as they formerly were under the more liberal distributions of the monasteries.[1] Nor was it the guise of these prudent times to dissolve parliaments in

[1] In the excellent ballad of Truth and Ignorance, published in the Relics of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 294, Ignorance, in the character of an old peasant, maintains the cause of catholic establishments, by this popular argument:

"I'll tell thee what, good fellow,
Before the friars went hence,
A bushel of the best wheat
Was sold for fourteen pence;
And forty eggs a-penny,
That were both good and new,
And this I say myself have seen,
And yet I am no Jew."—PERCY'S *Reliques*, ii. 296.

discontent, (by which a quarrell seemed to be pitcked with the whole nation,) but to adjourne them in love. Wherefore, having to doe with the same men, she was seldome compelled to alter her course; it being impossible that a prince, who had her peoples affection in grosse, should find it wanting in their representative. And it is no lesse remarkable, that in so long a raigne, she never was forced (as I have heard) to make use of her negative power; but had still such a party in the House of Lords as were able to save her that labour. Neither was she ever terrified by feare, to bestow office or honour upon any out of no other reason than to draw them from the contrary party; unlesse seminaries, and of this she grew at last weary, saying once in publicke, she would not ransome her selfe from enemies at the price of their preferments that lov'd her. But in case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions, she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon some

service at home she knew least gratefull to the people: contrary to a false maxim, since practised with far worse successe, by such princes who thought it better husbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends; which once observed, it tempted some that were ambitious to lay out the strongest of their endeavours against their prince only in hope to be brought off.[1] And for such as desired a farther recoyle from the pope than was thought fit to be made, they were not so numerous or well agreed yet, as to actuat any disturbance, being for the most part poore; and, as all schismatiks doe at first, glorying more in suffering, than in any other opposition but what they are able to raise with their pennes or tongues; in which they were no less lavish than bold and in-

[1] Osborne plainly intimates, that, in both these points of politics, Charles I. had been very unsuccessful. And indeed he was too often reduced to the unpopular and desperate extremity of interposing his own negative, as well as eminently unfortunate in his attempts to make friends of his enemies, by raising them to stations of trust and importance.

discreet: yet meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new habitations for themselves, and vents for their opinions in Amsterdam, where the Dutch alowed a generall mart for all religions, (the papacy excepted,) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the magistrate in things purely civill: And by this they did not only draw much of our coyne thither, but our manifactures of weaving, dying, fulling, spinning, and dressing of cloth, stuffe, &c. easy to have been prevented, by affording them an Amsterdam in England, some small city of refuge, over which her majesty might have sét a discreet governour with a garrison, whose charge they would willingly have borne, besides the payment of a large excise for their folly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being unpossible to make them unanimous; but the hierarchy had been so bitten already by the covetousnesse of princes, and the sharp and discerning learning of the layity, who, uninterested in the generall contro-

versies, might have moderated to their disadvantage, or set on foot a farther and more rigid reformation, (which, though a terror to those in power, is most delightfull to the eares of the people.) That they perswaded the queene, it was against prudence and piety to give them harbor; yet, in the mean time, connived at lecturer and weekly preaching, through which they let in more by the posterne, than they could croud out at the great gate. Wherefore, this found out, wisdome should rather have left the attempt in the hands of time, the moderator of all things disputable, than rendered them incorrigible through opposition, the promoter of error. I am the larger in this, lest posterity should be to seek for the foundation of the most destructive revolution the sun ever held light to, which was begun by thousands who never intended it, and wrought the ruine of that both sides labour'd to preserve, with an excessive advantage to such as could neither expect or deserve it.

22. Amongst the greatest things laid to her charge, as cast behind the dore of neglect, was the conduct of the affaires of Ireland; a place lying, all her halcion daies, under so great a contempt, (before England's lesse future felicity had brought it to esteeme,) that wise Walsingham thought it no treason to wish it buried in the sea, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the pale in good order, not suffering the Spanish party to grow more potent in the north, than was convenient to consume his forces, and divert him from neerer and more dangerous attempts. It being unpossible for her, without appearing grievous to her people, (a rock she chiefly studied to avoid,) at one time to maintaine so dreadfull a navy at sea, and foment the Dutch and French, towards whose assistance she was called by a louder necessity, then to render a nation quite desolate: none being willing during her life to exchange the present government of a naturall princesse, for the lesse happy tyranny of a viceroy; of which the most did

study more their respective grandure by extending the warre, then the ease of the inhabitants, and lessening the queenes expence: till the noble Lord Mountjoy was imploy'd, who had no other designe then the conclusion of the work; which he had not yet so easily brought about, but that the Spaniards found themselves betrayed through the covetousnesse and cowardise of the natives, that, for small sums, would sell not only such forraigners as came to help them, but their nearest relations: Wherefore, unlikely to keep faith with their prince, being of so false and unconstant a nature, as, by a continuall relapsing into seditious practises, they did with the same breath demand pardon, and yet panted to accomplish something worthy of death. Nor was it possible to reduce them to more civility, (the inhabitants being of such an amphibious education,) but by curing the boggs and fastnesses, or building more castles and garrisons then she could spare mony or men from her other occasions to

furnish; but that which raised the greatest difficulty in relation to an absolute subjugation of this province, was the power the priests exercised over the natives consciences, who, not able to resolve themselves, were implicitly led by their perswasions to cast off the English yoke, and distresse the queene, who, in the Roman dialect, was stiled *heretick*, and in whose favour no compact could be made, much lesse kept, without mortall sinne in the performer, especially upon the offer of any (though but seeming) advantage. Nor was the defection of Ireland one of the smallest inconveniences that resulted to this crowne from the protestant profession.[1]

[1] Naunton remarks, that, in fomenting the Irish rebellion, the Spaniards played back on Elizabeth the game she had pursued in the Netherlands.

"The Irish action we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast expense, that it drew neare unto a distemperature of the state, and of passion in herselfe; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please; her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering

36633

23. In this miserable nation, that wanted not only wisdome and virtue to purchase her owne freedome, but a competency of patience quietly to submit to the English civility, the former-mentioned Earle of Essex buried his fortune. For after his more subtill enemies, prompted by malice and his owne destructive ambition, had placed him so farre off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her majesties age and parcimonious humour) to distresse him, for want of coyne and other necessary provisions for so expensive an expedition: which cast him upon disadvantagious treaties with

her expectation and her wonted successe; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more, for that it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern.

"For, as the queen, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crowne, supported the revolted states of Holland; so did the King of Spaine turne the tricke upon herselfe towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion; where it falls into consideration what the state of this kingdome and the crown revenues were then able to indure and embrace."—NAUNTON'S *Fragmenta Regalia.*

Tyrone, the capitall rebell, and might occasion the private discourse he had with him alone on horse-back, in the middest of a river; which hinted to the queen the first cause of that fatall suspicion: He might, through the assistance of the Irish and English army (already wholy at his devotion) attempt some novelty; a dismall whisper the contrary faction did hourely inspire her withall: and, to give it a deeper tincture of probability, Sir Robert Cecill gained leave of the queene to advertise Essex, first of her being past hope, and after of her death, stopping in the meane time all ships else, but what came loaden with this fatall intelligence; and, to secure her person no lesse then his owne, in case he took the wiser counsell of his friends to land in Wales with all the power he could raise, the English militia were put in a posture of defence, of which no use was made; for the earles composition having alwaies participated more of truth and loyalty to his soveraigne, with zeale to the protestant reli-

gion, then prudence or reason of state: He, not only contrary to the will of his friends, but beyond the highest hopes of his enemies, came over attended with some few gentlemen; and in this naked condition, finding the report false, he cast himselfe, habited as a travellor, at the feet of his mistris, whom after he never met, (unlesse since in heaven,) being presently confined; yet to no stricter prison then his chamber, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his soveraignes commands, who, though daily importuned, could not be brought to signe a warrant for any severer commitment, till after his passage through the city, in which he did not only exceed the extent of his owne ordinary rashnesse, but the highest and most extraordinary plots of his enemies. And thus was the earle snatched out of the armes of his mistris, and torne from the hearts of the people that were his servants, by the subtilty of his enemies, and in the sight of both brought to an untimely death: it appear-

ing no lesse wonder that prince and subject did meet in their affections, then that they should both be so quiet spectators of his ruin. But as God shewed in his death the weaknesse of the arme of flesh, so not long after he declared as plainly the power of his justice in a strict account he took from those that were the principall agents in it: For after the blow given, the queene, presaging, by a multitude of teares shed for him, the great drouth was likely to appeare in the eyes of her subjects, when the hand that signed the warrant for it should be cut off, fell into a deepe melancholy, whereof she died not long after. And for the fame that immediately followed her, (if multitudes were not fouly mistaken,) she was more beholding to her successors miscarriages in the generall opinion, then any popular esteeme attending her to the grave: her death being reported to proceed from an occasion that would have beene thought ridiculous in an ordinary lady, much more

in a person of her magnitude.[1] But such as take princes for other then men, shew they never saw them in true light; who, like the gods of the heathen, cannot in their actions or speeches, during life, be discerned from ordinary mortalls, but by the worship given them; being so remote from owning any reall divinity, as with the crowne they put on greater frailties then they do devest: For, during the criticall minute of the queenes strongest affection, (which was upon Essex his return from Cales,) he had importuned her for some signall token, which might assure him, that in his absence, (to which his own genius, no lesse then the respect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her commands, did daily prompt him,) his enemies (of whom he had many about the chaire of state) should not, through their malice or subtilty, distresse him, or render him lesse or worse deserving in her esteeme; upon this, in a

[1] Of a broken heart, namely, for the loss of a lover.

great deale of familiarity, she presented a ring to him; which, after she had by oathes indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or distresse his future miscarriage, her anger, or enemies malice could cast him into, she gave it him, with a promise, that at the first sight of it all this and more if possible should be granted. After his commitment to the Tower, he sent this jewell to her majesty, by the then Countesse of Notingham, whom Sir Robert Cecill kept from delivering it. This made the queene think her selfe scorned, a treason against her honour, and therefore not unlikely to be voted by the pride of so great a lady, more capitall then that pretended against her person, which power doth rarely suffer to scape unpunished: besides, he had been tempted through passion to say, or his enemies to devise, that she now doted, and owned a mind no lesse crooked then her body; a high blasphemy against such a divine beauty, as flatterers, the idolizers of princes, had enshrined here in. And

from these his misfortunes, led on by the weaknesse jealousy and age had bred in her, his maligners took advantage, so as his head was off before discretion, love, or pity had leasure to dictate. The ring might be miscarried, and the former relation false; but the lady of Notingham coming to her death-bed, and finding, by the daily sorrow the queene expressed for the losse of Essex, her selfe a principall agent in his destruction, could not be at rest till she discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God, and forgivenesse from her earthly soveraigne: who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in her bed, sent her, accompanied with most fearefull curses, to a higher tribunall. Not long after the queenes weaknesse did appeare mortall, hastened by the wishes of many, that could not in reason expect pardon for a fault they found she had so severely punished in her selfe, as to take comfort in nothing after:[1]

[1] The following striking picture of Elizabeth's remorse and agony of mind, is extracted from the Me-

But upon all occasions of signing pardons, would upbraid the movers for them with

moirs of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth.

"When I came to court, I found the queen ill-disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand, and told her, it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand, and wrung it hard, and said, 'No, Robin, I am not well,' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse, she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight; for, in all my lifetime before, I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the Queen of Scots was beheaded. Then, [1587,] upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that queen.

"I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humour; but I found by her it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night; and she gave command, that the great closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in readiness, we long expected her coming. After eleven o'clock, one of the grooms came out, and bade make ready for the private closet, she would

the hasty anticipation of that brave mans end, not to be expiated in relation to the nations losse by any future indeavour, much lesse so unseasonable an uncharitablenesse to a dying lady.

24. After Essex was thus laid by, the totall management of state-affaires fell to Sir Robert Cecill in right of wisdome, who, free from competition, became bold enough to informe the queene, that too many yeares had beene already lapsed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certaine successour: Nothing remaining wanting, but her concession, to free the nation from a civill warre, in declaring the King of Scots her lawfull heire, who, besides an immediate right, had the

not go to the great. There we stayed long for her coming; but at the last she had cushions laid for her in the privy chamber, hard by the closet door, and there she heard service.

"From that day forwards, she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance, or go to bed."

greatest power at hand, to quell the hopes of all contrary pretenders, at that time more then a few; having long been imboldened, either through her majesties indulgence or prudence, an artifice dangerous for her people, and not unpossibly now destructive to her selfe, the love of whome was by good government for forty years, so deeply rooted in her subjects, as it could be buried in nothing but her grave. Nor did he alone beat her eares with these sounds, no lesse terrible to her age at that day, then they had beene formerly ungratefull to her youth: But the generality of all about her, there remaining, after Essex remove, no faction at court able to rescue any from the present or future revenge of this man, with whom the most did comply, for feare of having their hopes blasted by this northern sunne, that began to rise proportionable to the declension of the queens health. The truth of which, the most incredulous may find throughout the whole arraignment of Cobham, Gray, and Rawly, professed antago-

nists to Essex, under whose shelter they might have been protected in relation to their cause, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperboly to affirme, the queene did not only bury affection, but her power, in the tombe of Essex, who, having the love of the people, would execute without feare any command, which they wanting, durst not undertake: the cause Cecil thought it more prudence to rely upon the promise of a prince his father had made motherlesse, than in the forgivenes of a multitude, whose odium he had by many proceedings contracted; but especially in being instrumentall in the death of Essex, and those hopefull young gentlemen that lost their lives and fortunes with him. Amongst whom was Sir Henry Lee, for only wishing well to the three earles in the Tower, and an other executed in Smithfield, for writing the newes of their apprehension to his father that was out of London. But, not to exceed the designe of this piece, which was not to asperse any,

especially one allied so neerly to my grandmother, and a family now rendered illustrious by two earldomes, and a number of glorious matches; I shall relate only his wise indeavours to make James succeed, by whom he was courted with many letters, and larger promises than, as I have heard, were ever performed, and other proposals made, amongst which was a treaty of peace with Spaine, passionatly desired of the Scotish king, who, by this gratefull service, thought to muzle the mouthes of the jesuites, and to have his offers of connivance more secretly and successfully presented at Rome: and, upon the same score, Tyrones pardon was moved to the queene, and though at first refused by her with high disdaine, yet after brought about for want of strength and counsell to oppose it. Nor was an inquisition after the will of Henry the Eighth omitted, which a cursiter did about that time justify he had inrolled, though then not to be found, having before been taken off the file, by some as small

friends to the Scotish title as any other but their owne;[1] Harfords, Huntingtons,' &c. being then rife in every man's discourse. But, to avoide all semblance of triumph over a right allready under the weight of the severest misfortune, I shall conclude with the most happy condition this unparallel'd princess left the kingdome of England in.

25. It had no considerable enemy besides the catholicke king, and his power so maimed by the frequent blowes received from her maritime militia, that he sought peace in a posture far below the usuall pride and rhodomontado gallantry of that nation; apparent in the rich donatives bestowed on

[1] There was no mention of the Scottish title in the will of Henry VIII. But, after entailing the crown upon his own children, and Frances and Eleanor, daughters of his younger sister Mary, Duchess of Brandon, he declared, that, failing them and their issue, it should go to the next rightful heirs, under which must be implied, the reigning family of Scotland, descended from Margaret, wife of James V., and eldest sister of Henry. Why they were postponed to the descendants of his younger sister, can only be accounted for by the strong and rooted effect of national antipathy.

all about King James, who were any way likly to farther or obstruct it. * As for the wild Irish, (a terme that age bestowed on the rebels,) they were dayly found dead in bogs and woods, with grass in their mouthes, giving no farther trouble to the English souldiers, (at her death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their generall,) than to burne and spoile the corne, and other provisions of the natives; far easier done, than they overtaken in their fastnesses and bogs, impassable to our army. ' The French were, by obliga-

* Even the gentle Spenser recommends this mode of harassing the Irish kerne, and gives the following striking picture of the misery which it occasioned:

"The proofe wheraf I saw sufficiently exampled in these late warres of mounsters, for notwithstanding, that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet, ere one year and a halfe, they were brought to such wretchednesse, as that any stony hart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woodes and glynnes, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they look like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts, crying out of their graves; they

tion, wound up at least to a neutrality, if not in policy bound to assist us in case the warre had gone on with Spaine. Henry the Fourth's former defection, though covered with a late formal conversion, having yet not so strongly estated him in the affection of Rome, as to make him despise the English aliance, or exchange it for any in judgment lesse remote from the pope; or, in case of his death or forgetfulnesse, she had the Hugonotes to friend, who, in all walled townes, prayed for her in publique, owning her for litle lesse than their princess, under the titlc of a *protecteress*. Though the Dutch were no lesse hers by interest

did eat the dead carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses, or shamrocks, here they flocked, as to a feast for the time; yet not able long to continue therewithall, that in short space, there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddenly left voyde of man and beast; yet sure, in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought." —SPENSER'S *State of Ireland, apud Works*, 1805, vol. viii. p. 430.

than gratitude; yet, least prosperity should, in a resty humor, straine these cords, her hands were strengthened by cautionary townes, which did not only bridle them, but abate much of the danger our merchants were in from those remaining under the crowne of Spaine; not so much recruited about this time by the reduction of Ostend after three years siege, as weakened by the former losse of Sluce in a far lesse considerable time. As for Denmarke, Sweden, and other nations, that ordinary calculation hath seated east of us, she held good correspondence with them; but lay obnoxious to no other inconveniences from them, than what she sustained by the frost, snow, and tedious weather the vicinity of their icy coasts useth to infest more happier climats withall.

26. Nor can she appeare lesse lovely, wise, and successful at home, to any that is able to fix his eyes upon so great a radiancy as did compasse the head of this princess; without the darke vale of prejudice,

not hetherto drawn from before the face of this nation, by the visible indeavours of many, comparisons being apt to raise no lesse odium at home then envy abroad. For through the series of her raigne she kept parliaments, the pulse of this nation, in such a temper as no signes appeared either of anarchy or tyrannicall oppression; her government having been handed to the people with that sweetnesse, that it was esteemed of no lesse advantage to them, than their obedience brought honour to her: under whom the crowne remained in such credit, as the Exchequer was esteemed equall security with the Exchange; the tellers of that court being as ready to issue out moneyes, as those that had debenturs were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice since brings the truth of this into suspence, let the proverbe, as sure as check,[1] bayle me from the least suspition of hyperbole. Her lands, of which she had a vast propor-

[1] *i. e.* Exchequer.

tion, were loaden with timber, fit for all imployments, lying ready, upon occasion, either to raise a navy, or mony to pay souldiers, or mariners. Nor was her treasury quite empty, or the crowne burdened with any considerable debts, but what a parliament would, without murmur, have refunded; no cause of jealousy remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their liberty or estates, since she did not extend to the least generall prejudice her owne unquestioned interest in the perquisites of the crowne; so as her parkes, forrests, and chases, were rather a relief than burthen to the subject, it being then as rare to find a man of quality denied venison, as to heare of one (if not too intemperate) punished for stealing it.[1] And as the justice in oyer

[1] Falstaff, it may be remembered, treats with supreme scorn Shallow's threat of charging him in council, "for having beaten his men, killed his deer, and broken open his lodge." The lenity of Elizabeth, in conniving at a frolicsome misdemeanour, often committed by men of some rank, was unpopularly contrasted with James's excessive rigour in preserving his game.

was moderate in his courts that related only to the preservation of game; so those in Westminster hall were as carefull to distribute equity and right: or, if, in her time, some cushions in Chancery, Chequer, and Court of Wards, were taken with the moth of corruption, it was after her inspection fayled her, for want of a contrary faction truly to informe her, and no propensity in her nature to protect such courses. The ordinary plea used after, of selling dear, because they bought so, being voyd the most of her dayes; in which no visible bribes for offices were offered or accepted, but what resulted from favour or desert. The church, in her dayes, lay not disfigured in the filth of profanesse, nor was it dawbed by the varnish of hypocrisy: Ceremony and Sabbath (the ordinary pretences for sedition) being decently not rigidly commanded or observed. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; and might have been so still, had not the state rendered them more

considerable by their notice than really they were; fondly imagining, the hatred found in succeeding parliaments to the papists, resulted from a puritanicall affection, when it was for a long time in the most a feare of shaking the titles of abbey lands, or a desire to free the laity, in all things temporall and mulctable, out of the hands of the church; who, about the setting of this glorious planet, became something more red and severe, than suted with a calling no better supported: For though zeale in the clergy may bias men towards religious duties, yet it hath often been found so much to alter the gate of the rable, as they have quite forsaken the end of all professions, which is obedience to God and their governours, and inclined to more uncouth and distructive opinions, than an open and unsuborned temper in religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the neglect, if not malice, observable from the most relations concerning this lady, no

lesse than vindicated my owne gratitude, (whose grand-father and father did enjoy a quiet, happy, and plentifull fortune under her,) though in a stile and method far below her merit, as best appeares by the bonfiers and loud acclamations used still by the people upon the day of her inauguration.[1] The felicity of which was never since matched, nor have we had yet any cause to hope it will be, especially during my life, which began under this beloved princess.

[1] Queen Elizabeth's day was long a day of jubilee among the London apprentices, who used to solemnize it by burning the pope in effigy. During the time of investigation, after the supposed popish plot, this festival was observed with circumstances of peculiar solemnity, which has made Dryden term Elizabeth,

> The queen, whose feast the factious rabble keep.

An attempt to revive this ceremony, and to direct it against the Tory ministry, occurred in the end of Queen Anne's reign.

TRADITIONALL MEMOYRES

ON THE RAIGNE OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

TO

THE READER.

SINCE age, though something early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of infirmities, and no fewer discontents, it is not probable I should go long unserved by that fatall sub-pœna we all are liable to through our fathers concupiscence, no lesse than a reciprocall necessity to leave elbow-roome for our own; wherefore, at present, compelled by usuall, yet farre lesse gratefull diversions, to put a stop upon the following discourse, (which though defective and imperfect, may not unpossibly be owned for mine, by such as are well acquainted with the stile,) I take my selfe obli-

ged, out of that tender respect all naturally carry towards a faire repute, (which will perhaps prove the argument of a time may happen many ages after mine is spent,) not to suffer it to come into the world speechlesse; which I looke upon as none of the least misfortunes, however it may be reckoned amongst the most innocent: the tongue supplying the same place in man, a sting is found to do in a serpent. Nor is it likely any thing so generall as this should scape wounding by such darts: which renders all indeavour to frame it a sufficient passport, not only difficult, but meerly impossible; being quite devested of the patched coat of antiquity, (it not bearing so much as the facing of any others custome but my owne,) no lesse then the janglings of novelties relating to faith; whose apparitions and sounds are only able to raise up the prick-eared attentions of these times, that neither regard the middle-aged philosophers, nor ancient prophets, farther then they are (like blind horses) able to bring grist to their

owne mills: by whom tradition is held and persecuted for a vagabond, though the Bible it selfe, that hath hung so long at their girdles, as it is become an assistant to the sword, had for some centuries no better covering then this arke; into which the generality do now not only profanely peepe, but proclaime the retention of it, an occasion of all the scabs and emrods, do at this day, and have long before, infested the nation: though deducible out of history and experience, that unity was more pliant to the bond of peace, and the priests more steady in their chayrs, and not so apt to fall into schismes, and break their owne necks, together with their governors, before tradition was taken captive, and hypocrisy had blinded the strength of, &c. who, though they did at first grinde the motly colours of such as imployd them, they became in a short time cunning enough to display their owne. Now, if nothing might be registered of wicked, effeminate, and ill-consulted princes, but things plausible, and tending

to the fame of the dead, one of the chiefe reins of terrour and restraint would be quite let loose to those alive; the impartiall grave affording no more protection to their dust, then the righteous judge doth connivance to their sinnes. From whence it may be concluded no lesse necessary (by reason of the greater and more generall advantage accruing to the world from such a splendid example,) to dissect and make inspection into the defects of a dead king, or ruins of a tattered state, then for a physitian to anatomize a body, whose life was, through evill and extravagant courses, forfeited to the law: by both which, honest men may come to be cured, and common-wealths better governed. I confesse a huge blame is due to such as mannage their pens no lesse impertinently then clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which, in lieu of other imployment, or for pure want of discourse, they deface and whittle the sacred graves and unquestioned fame of great persons, upon no solider an account, then to fill

volumes, though they relate to no more use but what the narrative containes, without pointing either to imitation or admonition, the bull-workes of government; towards the advancement of which, nothing can be so precious, as may not in manners and decency be imployd, whether relating to the fame or infamy of dead princes. The omission of which would not only obstruct all the readers benefit and delight, deducible meerly from truth and variety, but remove out of the sphere of majesty, hope, feare, and shame of what may be censured of them after this life, (all the reward and punishment the most think themselves capable of,) by which they would be left only to the boundlesse and unsteady prosecution of chance, or the guidance of their owne wills, not unlikely to prove as destructive to them and their issue, as burdensome to their people; it being the duty of an historian, not only to better the present understanding, but to open a window into the future, by drawing the fairest landskip, and making

the widest and farthest prospect into times past, his skill will give him leave; in which, perhaps, more art may be showne in discovering the ditches, boggs, and bushes, then the more lofty mountains and trees. And now, having, so farre as is necessary, vindicated tradition, (the free schoole of princes,) where moderation may be learn'd from those that have fallen under a popular fury, and patience inculcated to all subjects by the deare effects of civill warre, and the example of many that have cast off one tyranny and fallen into a worse, not seldome their portion, who hunt after change, I shall farther adde, that no sound requires a more docile eare, nor an exacter attention, then that proceeding from the trumpet of fame; the jarrings of which, like other wind instruments, are not so discernable at any distance, as neêrer hand; wherefore, it creates admiration in me, to find out what the composition of their humours may be, that impute it not only for a blemish to the writer, but an undecent intrusion into the readers har-

vest, to insert his own judgment, or the most probable opinions of the age wherein the scenes of his story were acted; yet are heard daily to bewaile the want of a more perfect knowledge of the cause why Sejanus fell from so great a height of felicity into so deepe an abysse of misery, with other like mutilations, observable in the records of history not capable of recovery by posterity; an omission not likely to result from any other neglect, then what the commonnesse of that knowledge did at the time of their writing breed in the historians: whose indústry can as hardly prove so impertinent to future ages, (for whose sake chiefly it is imploid,) as it may appeare perhaps ingratefull to the present, where every one carries a chronicle in his mouth, or at least so much as may raise a floud of contradiction, strong enough for the time to immerge the greatest and exactest inquisition after the most usefull and exemplary truth: since, though the diseases in bodies politick are ordinarily recorded as to matter of fact,

yet, to set downe the manner of their cure, and strengthen it with such a defensive plaster, as may, for the future, prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the labour of the historian, and without which the politician shall be litle edified; who cannot pretend to a higher title than that of an emperick, if he hath not been conversant (as the pretenders by their places to reason of state are most commonly found) with other experiments then may be deduced out of the stories of antiquity, wherein all transactions, (but what passed between Greece and Rome,) had still one end of the treaty supported by a people stiled *barbarous*. Nor is it to be wondered at, that the ancients should exceed the moderne in repute, though short in goodnesse, since the best construction is put upon their ambiguities, and their faults mended, and imputed not to the author but transcribers: whereas, contemtoraries receive all rigor, few vouchsafeing to mend the errors of the presse; and if any inter-

pretation be worse then other, he is sure to have it; wherefore, in case I die before this be finished, if posterity finds no reason to wish it otherwise, I am sure the composer shall not.

THE

PRINCIPALL HEADS

OF

THE FOLLOWING MEMOYRES

ON THE RAIGNE OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

1. King James, the Occasion of his Son's Ruine.

2. The English disgust the Multitudes of Scots following him. How it might have been prevented.

3. How he stood affected at the News of Queen Elizabeth's Death, and his Proclaiming by the Mayor of London. Who were most earnest for his Reception, and who propounded it might be with Caution.

4. A Peace made with Spaine—of what Consequence to that Crown.—

5. —By what Gifts procured, and—The King's Counsell suborn'd.

6. The Lords Cobham, Gray, and Sir W. Rawly indicted of Treason. The miserable Death of the first.

7. Sir W. Rawly's History of the World. His Guiana Voyage. His Triall, Condemnation, Execution, and Character.

8. Truce made between Spain and the Dutch; the Inconveniencies thereof to that Republick. K. James Writings and Employment.

9. His Entry and Exit attended with great Plagues.

10. This ill Condition the Papists lay in—may seem to have brought forth that Monster, the Powder Plot.

11. Conjectures what its Effects might have been.

12. Miracles related of Garnet—His Execution; with the Rest of the Conspirators.

13. The Discovery, reported as occasion'd by the Lord Morley (Cecil's Artifice.)—

14. —Came from the French King. The Spanish flattering Congratulation. K. James's Pusilanimity and ill Practices; their Effects. Rome's Despaire of regaining England.

15. The Causes of the French King's Assassination.

16. The Papists indulg'd, and Puritans (unadvisedly) prosecuted. The Conference at Hampton-Court. Its Inconveniencies. By what Steps the Puritans got up, and the old Clergy degenerated.

17. The English impoverished by Exactions to inrich the Scots. K. James, his Hunting Character. His Demeanour towards Q. Anne. Her Picture.

18. An Apology for an Historian's taking Notice of minute and low Circumstantials.

19. The King's Obligations to the E. of Northumberland requited with the Star-Chamber. That Court described.

20. The Pauls-Walking. Newes-Mongers—report Northumberland (who brought in K. James) too (fatally) intimate with P. Henry. Fortescue's Rewards, first for opposing the King's Admission, (without Caution,) and after for entertaining him.

21. The Puritans denied a Second Conference.

22. A Libel on the Scots.—Explained.

23. A Character of Philip E of Montgomery. How patiently he took his Switching by Ramsey at Croydon, (which otherwise had produced a nationall Quarrell.) How the King repaired Philip's lost Honour. (An Animadversion upon Masques.)—

24. His gallant Mother the Countesse of Pembrok's Resentment. Her Picture and Epitaph.

25. The King's Fears make him banish Ramsey. His Debauching the English. Pembrok's Wives Descent.

26. Sackvill the only Englishman at Croydon that went on the Scots Side, and why.

27. Maxwell luggs Hawly; which had like to have engaged the Greys Inne Gentlemen in a Quarrel—taken up by Bacon. They entertaine the King with a Masque, and he them with a Banquet. Their Rudenesse.

28. Murray kils a Sergeant; and the Lord Zankor, the Fencer Turner. Their Sentence.

29. Treasurer Cecil's Artifice to stop the King's Profusenesse. His Enmity to the E. of Essex, and Enclosure of Hatfield Chase, &c. Contract him the Peoples Hatred; which vented in Libels after his Death. The Manner of it. His Character. Baronets his Project. Crown-Timber (wastfully) sold.

30. The Mischiefs wrought to this Nation by some of the worst of the Scotish Lords, as Roxborow, Fenton, Carlisle, Dunbar, Kelly, Somerset. The Rise of the foure last.

31. The King's Designe for the Union eagerly carried on—Proved abortive in the Parliament.—

32. —Attempted againe in the Star-Chamber by the Lawyers upon the Account of Prerogative—Unsuccessfully.

33. Objections made in Parliament against it.

34. Knighthood made cheap.—

35. —The Occasion of Baronets—to the Ruine of many Families.

36. Other Honours sold—Partially.

37. The English doat on P. Henry—How justly, examined.

38. His Virtues draw Love from the People, and that raises (fatal) Jealousy in the King. The unhappy Condition of Princes. His Death.

39. King James ill-attended, and why. Carlisle's Ex-

cesse; Ante-Suppers—His Invention. The King's Favorites censured.—

40. How the E. of Holland lost that Place.

41. Gowry's Conspiracy, and the Mock-Holy-Day for it.

42. Treasurer Buckhurst's remarkable Death. His Character.

43. The L. Elizabeth's Marriage with the Palsgrave—Generall liked. Why the K. consented to so poore a Match. Her Virtues and Misfortunes.

44. Conjectures about the Palsgrave's Affaires.

45. Prince Henry's encouraging his Attempts.

46. The Battaile of Prague lost through his Covetousnesse.

47. Weston farthers the Elector and his Lady's Escape to the Hague.

48. Many Papists true to their Trust. Of Count Mansfield. The Close of the First Part.

SOME

TRADITIONALL MEMORIALLS

ON

THE RAIGNE

OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

THE FIRST PART.

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1. The misfortunes of Charles Stuart, son to King James, with the uncouth, dismall, and unexpressible calamities that happened thereupon, appeare yet so great a sacrifice in the opinions of all interested by losse, or suborned by that natural propensity inherent in the most, to expunge or palliate the lapses of unhappy princes, (whose indulgence is not seldome so diffusive as to

expiate for the faults of those standing in a far remoter relation than that of a father,) that they have hitherto stopped my pen from making any farther progresse this way; till, led on by a zeale to truth, and illuminated from the brighter judgments of others, I found not only the imprudent commissions, but voluntary omissions of King James so much instrumentall in the promotion of our present evills, as it may justly be said, he, like Adam, by bringing the crown into so great a necessity through a profuse prodigality, became the originall of his son's fall: who was in a manner compel'd to stretch out his hands towards such gatherings and taxes, as are contrary to law: by which he fell from the paradise of a prince, to wit, the hearts of his people.

2. For though the best polititians extant might miscarry in their calculation of a civill warre, immediately to follow upon the death of Queene Elizabeth, in vindication of titles and opinions then current, yet

the beggerly rable,[1] attending his majesty, not only at his first coming out of Scotland,

[1] It is a circumstance hitherto little known or attended to, that this influx of Scottish adventurers, as it was disheartening and unpopular to the English people, was equally embarrassing and displeasing to James himself; and that he took very strict modes to prevent the emigration of his Scottish lieges from their northern desarts to his newly-acquired English Goshen. The following very curious proclamation of the Scottish privy-council, which is one of many to the same purpose, will bear evidence to the fact:

Proclamatioun anent the Repairing of Persons to Courte.

Apud Edinburgh, Decimo Maij, 161[illegible].

Forasmekle as the frequent and dailie resoirt of grite nomberis of idill persones, men and wemen, of base soirt and conditoun, and without ony certane trade, calling, or dependance, going from hense to courte, be sey and land, is not onlie very vnplesant and offensiue to the kinges maiestie, in so far as he is daylie importuned with thair suitis and begging, and his royall courte almost filled with thame, thay being in the opinioune and consait of all beholderis, bot ydill rascallis, and poore miserable bodyis, bot with that this cuntrey is heavelie disgraceit, and mony sclanderous imputationis gevin out agains the same, as iff thair wer no personis of goode ranke, comlynes, nor credit within the seme: and the kingis maiestie and lordes of secreit counsaill [considering,] how far suche imputationis may tuitche this cuntrey, and what impressioun it will

but through his whole raigne (like a fluent spring) found still crossing the river of

mak in the hairtis of the commoun multitude of the nighbour cuntrey; when as thay see his majestie importuned and fascheit, and his royall court filled with such nomberis of idill suitaris and vncomelie people; and the saidis lordis, thairfoir, being cairfull to prevent all forder occasioun of reproitche or sclander of the cuntrey, by staying so far as possible may be, all forder resoirt of ydill people to courte: Thairfoir ordanis lettres to be direct, chargeing officiares of armes to pas to the mercatt-croces of the heid-burrowis and seypoirtis of this kingdome, and thair, be oppen proclamatioun, to command, charge, and inhibite the maisteris, awnaris, skipparis, and marinaires, of whatsomeuir schippis and veschellis, that nane of thame presume, nor tak vpoun hand, to transporte, or cary in thair schippis, any passengeris from hense to England, quhill first thay gif vp to the saidis lordis the names of the passingearis; and latt the lordis vndirstand and know what lauchfull errand they haif, and procure licence for thair transportings yndir the pane of confiscatioun of the schippis and veschellis, and of all the mouable goodis pertening to the saidis skipparis, maisteris, and marinairs, to his maiesties vse.

In another proclamation, the council state, that one of the pretexts under which these unseemly Scottish supplicants resorted to court, was to demand payment of old debts due to them by James, which they gravely say, "is, of all kind of importunity, the maist unpleasing to his majesty."

Tweed, did so farre justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadfull symptoms of that warre presaged still impending England, and the nearer approach manifested in the discontent that appeared in all places, and amongst every society, to the very court it selfe, in whose opinion, no lesse than the generality, his too palpable partiality towards his country-men, rendered him no higher place than of a king-in-law, not a prince of any naturall affections to the people of this nation. So as his more wise and innocent successour was cast upon this unhappy choice, either to hazard the fidelity of his Scotch subjects, by obstructing this bounty; or that of the English, at whose cost alone it could be continued. All which might easily have been at first prevented, (and perhaps no lesse to the king's advantage than the peoples,) had the same caution the parliament exacted from Philip of Spaine been taken from James of Scot-

land; a nation no lesse distant from the English in nature and affection.

3. In the prosecution of which, or any thing else relating to this king, I shall avoid all unnecessary severity, and observe more duty and respect, then may possibly be thought due, by posterity, to the person of a prince, that (after so exact a patterne as Queene Elizabeth left him) did, by debauching parliaments, and breaking his word, so far irritate, no lesse then impoverish the subject, as his son was forced to give concession to one rendered indissolvable but by their own will: a mischiefe could never have befallen England, had King James left them in the same temper he found them at the death of the queene. The newes of which was brought him first (as I have heard) by Cary, after Lord Lepington, and since Earle of Munmouth: who, not able to satisfy such a concourse of doubts and questions, as farre more resolute natures then his do usually muster up on lesse occasions, the king stood as in a

maze, being more affected through the feare of opposition, then pleased with the present report;[1] till, by a lamer post, he was advertised of his being joyfully proclaimed in London by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of the unquestioned reception his title in all places met with; no lesse then that the hopes of some, and feares of the major part, assisted by the prudent carriage of the treasurer, and ranting protestations of the Earle of Northumberland,[2] (that in all

[1] Sir Robert Carey, a younger son of Lord Hunsden, having given the slip to the lords of council, rode post to Edinburgh, with the news of Elizabeth's death. He performed the journey in three days, notwithstanding a fall from his horse. It does not appear, from the account which he has given in his Memoirs, that James exhibited the extreme vacillation hinted at in the text. He barely states, that he produced to the king, as his credentials, "a blue ring from a fair lady;" that the king looked upon it, and said, "It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger;" then promised him his protection, and dismissed him for the night. Next morning arrived dispatches from the counsellors, announcing his having been proclaimed, with some complaint of Carey's precipitate departure.

[2] Northumberland and Cecil had both worshipped the rising sun, *i. e.* carried on a secret correspondence with James during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. Yet

places vapoured, he would bring him in by the sword,) had stopped their mouthes that

they were so far from cordially co-operating, that nothing is more prominent in Cecil's correspondence, than an anxious wish to convince James, that Northumberland had neither the power nor sincere wish to serve him. To the prejudices thus artfully excited, may be traced the succeeding misfortunes of that ill-used nobleman. The following extract of a letter, from Lord Henry Howard to Edward Bruce, will show how reluctantly Cecil admitted correspondence with him:

"After that Northumberland had brought the letter of King James, written to himself, to Cecil, and withal, presented unto him certain messages, by word of mouth, recommended to him, also, as he says, by Percy, from King James, Cecil seemed to accept his kindness very thankfully; but after he was departed, sent for me, and seemed very much to wonder at the messages which Percy delivered, and you shall find set down in my second letter, by this dispatch to King James. Because those messages did seem to set a greater price upon the man than he deserves, or Cecil, out of the knowledge of his falsehood, would wish that he should hold; and therefore, because exceptions might seem more strange out of the mouth of him in whose hand the letter was left in trust, than from me, whom duty and care of the service might move to speak plainly, without particular respects, he desired me to write in my own stile, as I have now done, to qualify this trust, and deliver plainly to his majesty, under correction, what my reason judgeth of the measure that is to be kept with him. My answer, which appeareth in my second letter to King James, did content exceedingly; and, in few words, the mea-

desired (in regard of the knowne feud between the nations) he might be obliged to

sure which he desireth to be holden, and I also, in tenderness of zeal, and incomparable affection to King James, hold most safe, is still to use him well, to retain this pledge of his profession to make him sure, and, as occasion doth serve, some time to comply with courtesies, but never to give him the least light of any kind of favour or respect to Cecil; never to give him audience in his advices, which must either be idle, having no friend, or dangerous, being bent to particular [ends;] and last of all, that his majesty cut off all ordinary traffic of intelligence, because it will let a thousand lights into the mystery.

"The man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one nobleman or gentleman of quality within the land beside his faction, no not by the gentlemen or peasants of his own country, in respect of his vexation and sport, which you may know by your next neighbours; and the queen repeated one month since, when she was moved in his behalf for a regiment, saying, that Raleigh had made him as odious as himself, because he would [not] be singular, and such were not to be employed by princes of sound policy. There is no secret which he revealeth not to all his own men, which Cecil would have your majesty to know, as from me, lest he should hold Cecil as an accuser of a man that reposeth trust; though the cause thereof be, as he says, not an election of worth, but provision for security. It is far from me or Cecil to restrain the pen of King James, by advice, from giving good assurance unto great ones at their first approach, and to the

articles: And amongst these noble and publique spirits, was Sir John Fortescue, Sir Walter Rawly, the Lord Cobham, &c. All frowned upon after by the king, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his opinion, and (when he found he neither durst do it him selfe, nor consent to it in parliament) to wish his countrymens numbers had beene limited, and not suffered like locusts to devour this kingdome; from whence they became so rich and insolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; the result of an

meaner sort by messages; but *ibi ponat obicem,* comparing the danger with the debility, the likelihood of discovery, with the poverty of advertisement: for whensoever King James receiveth from him, as Cecil willed me to write, any council-plot, caution, or discovery, that is worth the paper which he spends, he would have King James hold himself nobody. If you hold this temper you win ground; for I protest to God, nothing vexeth Cecil so much, as trust imparted above merit to men that are unsecret and indiscreet; weakening the wall sometime more in a day, by mining under ground among his fellow pioneers, by giddiness, than we can devise to repair in a year by discretion."—CECIL'S *Correspondence, ut supra,* p. 105.

omission no bloud could expiate, but that of the greatest victime ever sacrificed since Christ in so ignoble a way.

4. He held his thoughts so intent upon play and pleasure, that, to avoyd all interruption likely to impede any part of the felicity he had possessed his imagination with from the union of these crowns, and to fit an example for his neighbours iinitation, whom he desired to bring into the like resolution, he cast himselfe, as it were, blind-fold into a peace with Spaine, farre more destructive to England than a warre: For it hath not only found that prince an opportunity to recover his strength, (much abated by the queens most happy successes at sea,) but gave him a faire advantage to establish himselfe in the kingdome of Portugall, and quiet the distempers of his owne people, that were, ever since the expulsion of the Moors, (to whom a major part of the subjects, together with their language, is undoubtedly allied,) much perplexed at the cruelty of the inquisition, and so upon

all opportunities ready to call them back from the Barbary shore: Which could not have been so happily accomplished, but during so still a peace as the new reconciliation of the French king with the pope, and pusillanimous temper of James did at that present afford him, and without which it had not been uneasy for a farre weaker neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his own estate, by the least fomentation they could have used.

5. And as this peace was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard, so he spared for no cost to procure it: And, to prevent the inserting any article that might obstruct his recourse to or from the Indies, (the magazine of strife,) either on this side or beyond the Line, (thought by the English commissioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by King James, then with patience and a quiet submission of his subjects to their sense, not rarely punishing such as transgrest, at their coming home,) he presented

all, both Scotch and English, with gifts, and those no small ones; for by that, the Earle of Northampton,[1] brother to Suffolke, had,

[1] Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, a man of great talents, but who dishonoured those and his illustrious birth, by his share in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and his scandalous crouching to the minion Somerset. Lloyd has preserved almost all the good that can be said of him, in the following passage:

"This family had endeared itself to many kings by its service, but to none more than King James, by its obligations. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, being, as it were, his mother's martyr, (executed for a design to marry her,) and all his relations, his confessors, (kept under for their inclinations to advance him:) reasonable, therefore, it was, that my lord, that duke's brother, should be made Baron of Marnhill, Earl of Northampton, Knight of the Garter, Privy-Counsellour, Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. Learning in any man had King James his affection, especially in a nobleman, as our statesman, who was as serious a student in Kings-College and Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, as a discerning observator in Rome and Florence, in Italy. His "Dispensative against the Supposed Poyson of Prophesies," dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, bespeaks him a great and a general scholar: his speeches at Cambridge and in Starchamber, argue him both witty and wise. His expences shewed him public-spirited; the unparalleled port of his family and dependants, an ancient nobleman. His designing of Audley-End, and building of Suffolk-House, an ar-

he was alone able to raise and finish the goodly pile he built in the Strand, which yet remaines a monument of his, &c. Nor are there a few other no lesse brave houses, fresh in my memory, that had their foundations, if not their walls and roofes plastered with the same morter; though out of my will to name, who had rather be condemned by posterity, that are not likely to hurt me for this modesty, then expose my self to the mercy of the age I have the fortune to live in, by making my pen over-familiar with my thoughts; since after times may better spare the knowledge of many things then we reveale them; only this I

chitect. His hospital for twelve poor women and a governor, at Rise, in Norfolk; for twelve poor men and a governor, at Clin, in Shropshire; for twenty poor men and a governor, at Greenwich, in Kent, (whereof eight to be chosen out of Shose-Sham, where he was born,) a charitable man. His using of all his interest to avoid the burthen and weight of the treasurer's place, and procure it for the Earl of Suffolk, his nephew. His noble disposition, not to advance himself by court-flattery, or his fortune by state-employment, being a batchellor and a student."—LLOYD's *Worthies*, p. 780.

shall adde, as no improbable conjecture made by many in those daies, that his catholick majesty was so frighted by the apprehension of a possibility that our king, according to the nature, no lesse then the obligation of his country, might fall into a conjunction with France, that he would scarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the halfe of his Indies. And from hence all princes may calculate the vast difference that lies between a counsell suborned, and one free from corruption.

6. At his assumption to the throne, the Lord Gray, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Rawly, (professed enemies to the late Earle of Essex, and no weak instruments in his destruction,) fell into a treason of a like depth with his; and so improbable to hurt others or benefit themselves, that if ever folly was capable of the title, or pitty due to innocence, theirs might claime so large a share, as not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished. Yet as shallow as it was, the Lord Gray

could never wade through it, but died in the Tower; though Cobham did, but to such a liberty as only afforded him the choyce of a place to starve in, all his land being formerly confiscate and begg'd; so as my selfe heard William, Earle of Pembroke, relate with much regret towards him, (though in his life his opposer, in exasperating the old queene against him in relation to a juvenile lapse, for which he was by her committed to the Fleete,) that he died in a roome, ascended by a ladder, at a poore womans house in the Minories, formerly his landeresse, rather of hunger, then any more naturall disease. Thus miserable was his fate, in meeting with a prince so inconsiderately profuse to strangers, that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithall to buy bread; an impiety not found amongst infidells, who ever deemed it lesse injustice to take away life, then the meanes to maintaine it. Which may one day inspire a parliament with so much wisdome, as to abate the rigor of the law in relation

to the posterity of criminals, who are, in this particular, dealt withall, contrary to the decrée of God and nature, who saith, the person offending shall only dye, and no punishment descend to the innocent children: found the occasion of much mischiefe, especially to men of honour and estates; by affording a wide and legall pretence for malice and tyranny to expatiate in; manifested in that prodigious parliament, and might have been easily redressed, had not their frequent purgations left them no other humour but what related to continuance and selfe interest; contrary to the nature of that court, which ought not to be perpetuall; who, in the decollation of monarchy, cut off all hope of bettering the miserable condition of the English subject.

7. As for Rawleigh, none ever imployed inlargement worse, that knew so well how to advantage himselfe and his country in imprisonment: For, during his tedious lying in the Tower, (under the jealousy rather then justice of King James, who did so farre

participate of the humour of a pusilanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner then those injured by himselfe,) he was delivered of that Minerva, the History of the old World; which travell of his brain proved more successfull, then that of his body, to discover a new one, in that unhappy voyage to Guiana, in which his son, with a number of other gentlemen, were lost and undone, and he exposed to the Spanish cruelty, who, about that time, began to dazle the weaker eyes of James, with the contemplation of a match between our prince and that kings sister, to whom Sir Walter had rendered himself suspected, no lesse then he had formerly disobliged the treasurer Cecill, by obstructing, to the farthest extent of his power, a peace, through his mediation, propounded in the very shutting in of Queen Elizabeth's daies: which was not only the cause of his arraignment long before, and carried on so fiercely by Attourney Cook, and other dependers on

the treasurer, at Winchester;[1] but of the order upon this occasion sent, though long after, to Gondamor, the Spanish agent, vigorously to demand the head of Rawly for an assault made by him on his masters Indies: A head of more weight to our court, (especially in that dearth of wisdome then raging,) then the Infanta could be, notwithstanding the most generall no lesse then the least suspected reports made her alone owner, (though small in stature,) of the greatest beauty, virtue, gallantry, and prudence, that were at that day extant in woman kind. But as the foolish idolaters were wont to sacrifice the choycest of their children to the devill, the common enemy of

[1] Cook was then Attorney-General, and his unseemly and outrageous violence in conducting the prosecution against Raleigh, stamps him one of the most infamous tools that ever served the purposes of tyrannic power. He used the pronoun *thou* in addressing the prisoner; afforded him no better words, than viper and traitor while he was yet on his defence; brow-beat and insulted his witnesses; and, when he had prospect of procuring a conviction, exclaimed, "Now Jesus Christ shall be glorified."

humánity; so our king gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this monster in ambition, under the pretence of a superannuated transgression; contrary to the opinion of the most honest sort of gownmen, who maintained, that his majesties pardon lay inclusively in the commission he gave him upon his setting out to sēa: It being incongruous, that he, who remained under the notion of one dead in law, should, as a generall, dispose of the lives of others, not being himselfe master of his owne: But the Spanish faction, then absolute at court, and sole managers of the kings power, no lesse then his justice, did so farre tender his catholick majesties full satisfaction in the procuring his death, the only man of note left alive that had helped to beate them in the yeare 1588, that no absurdity lying in the way of his prosecution could deterre them from making use of his former condemnation: Remembering, withall, how far his wit had puzled them at Winchester, that though his judges were willing enough to

destroy him there, yet they did rather tire him out of his life, by the bawling of the kings counsell on one side, and the benches insisting upon a confession, extorted from the Lord Cobham out of feare, (who, being in the same condemnation, could but make a circumstance, no creature else averring it,) then convince him: some of his jury being, after he was cast, so farre touched in conscience, as to demand of him pardon on their knees; which made it the lesse probable they should be able to impanell one so wicked as would do it then. Besides, no peace beyond the Line, was a beliefe so riveted in the opinions of all, as he could not have been indicted a new, without the kings producing of the originall articles, by which his accusers would have been convinced of malice, or his prince of folly. He was captaine of the guard to Queen Elizabeth, warden of the Cinque Ports, first discoverer of that new plantation, which, in honour of his mistris, he named *Virginia;* but, above all, of so incomparable a dex-

terity in his judgment, as the treasurer (who had already, by an universall compliance with the king and his countrymen, purchased the monopoly of his favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, lest he should supplant him. And this was the first cause of his bringing to that triall, from whence Gondamor and our espaniolized English took this last advantage to cut off his head: which Edward Wimark, the Pauls-walker, wished upon Sir Robert Nantons shoulders, one of the secretaries of state, who, conscious of the need he had of such good parts, convented him for it, but without any better successe, then making himself ridiculous;[1] yet, had he or his master owned

[1] The full story is told by Dr Lloyd, from which it would seem, that if Wiemark had his jest, Naunton found an answer.

"He (Naunton) was of the same make in the state, as Archbishop Abbot was in the church, zealous and sullen; if others had a better wit than he in abusing him, he had a better memory than they to think of it; for one Mr Wiemark, a wealthy man, a great novilant, and constant Paul's-walker, hearing the news that day, of the beheading of Sir Walter Rawleigh, 'His head,' said

so much understanding, as witty Wimark meant that made the wish, we should not have found such cause to complaine now of his sonnes evill counsell; left him by descent from King James, that gave this fatall blow, not possibly then to be seconded by such another, made so much the

he, 'would do well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State.' These words were complained of, and Wiemark summoned to the privy-council, where he pleaded for himself, that he intended no disrespect to Mr Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; onely he spake in reference to an old proverb, "Two heads are better than one;" and for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St Paul's, Wiemark, at council-table, subscribed a hundred pounds; but Mr Secretary told him, 'Two hundred were better than one;' which, betwixt fear and charity, Wiemark was fain to subscribe."—LLOYD, *ut supra*, p. 796.

Sir Robert Naunton was first in the service of Overbury, and then in that of Buckingham, who promoted him to be Secretary of State, 1617; and he was afterwards made Master of the Wards. He is author of the entertaining and characteristic sketches of Elizabeth's statesmen and warriors, called *Fragmenta Regalia*.

heavier, because procured at the sute of an enemy.

His death was by him managed with so high and religious a resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian, or rather a Christian a Roman: So, as amongst the number that contributed to the destruction of the Earle of Essex, none but he died pittyed. Which James finding, he, according to the mode of weak and ill-consulted princes, set forth in print a declaration, which, according to the ordinary successe of such apologies, rendered the condition of that proceeding worse in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

Though I take my selfe bound to give no other account of my actions but to God, yet, &c.[1]

[1] This apology, which serves only to shew the king's consciousness of his wretched cause, is published, together with an equally pitiful defence for Sir Lewis Stukely, who betrayed Raleigh, in the new edition of SOMERS's *Tracts*, vol. ii.

8. By his majesties example, no lesse then perswasions, the states of the United Provinces, (not knowing to which side this new prince would propend,) were induced to a truce with Spaine for twelve yeares; who before, and since, most successfully resisted that king in defence of liberty; a felicity due to man by birth-right, and uncapable of forfeiture but to the wrath of God, that doth not seldome convert it into tyranny, after a generall declension into license and oppression, through which senators grow so rich, as they are tempted to ambition: Though few besides them have had the dexterity to gaine their freedome, or skill to keep it when fortune did fairely present them with it; yet ordinarily exercised in all corporations: men in government resembling horses, that are farre lesse ranting, and easier brought to an even temper, being linck'd together in a teeme, then single in a chariot, as over-tickled with the trappings of pride and honour: Therefore, more unanimous in warre then peace; un-

likely then, as now, to produce to the Netherlands any greater advantage then a confession of a right, theirs before in possession, by treating them in an equall degree of honour with other princes and free states. For in this truce was hatched the conspiracy of Barnavelt, the faction of the Arminians, and so many other evill humours contracted, as have given them ever since a full imployment to correct and evaporate. The contexture of this kind of government being so delicate and mathematicall, that, as it is least capable of error, so if one chance to creep in, (as possibly may by too long indulging of a family,) it doth hazard, if not unravell, the whole web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading paralleld, by any people besides themselves in this, to become rich by a defensive war: The Swis, though owners of brave actions, are yet so farre their punies in the learning of trade, that whilest the one, out of plenty, is able to hire assistance of their neighbours, the other, out of meere necessity, are

become the cudgells with which the rest of the world do, upon all occasions, beate one another. All which considered, might raise an use of instruction to England, not unfurnished with as good mariners, no lesse then one of example to Venice: who might, if she looked within and without, find people enough to make them, were they cured of the trembling of the heart, a disease perhaps incident to all republicks not founded in armes. But in a venerable reverence to the ghosts of Lipsius, Sir Henry Savill, Strada, and other bold authors, that arraigne Tacitus for his digressions, no lesse then stile; who have, no doubt, raised so numerous an issue to their judgments, as may hereafter sacrifice these leaves to a like censure; I shall returne to King James, who had farre worse books, (said, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing,) as intemperately on the other side praised by flatterers; which elated his imagination to so high an esteeme of his wisdome, that he, out of an impertinent emulation, was

thought to affect Sir Walter Rawly, the lesse because of the great repute that followed him for his excellent penne: so, as after much scorne cast upon it, being modestly demanded what fault he found, he answered, as one surprised, that he spake irreverently of King Henry the Eighth: which could not be the naturall cause, though first in his apprehension, since none ever exclaimed more against that prince then usually he did. But, however, this is very notorious, that he dedicated rainy weather to his standish, and faire to his hounds, or any thing else that owned the voyce of pleasure; which was, through the whole series of his government, more acceptable, then any profit or conveniency might accrue to his people.

9. At his first coming, he was long detained from Westminster by a plague, looked upon as the greatest, till exceeded in that which broke out after his death; taken by the ill-boding English for a presage of wors daies then they had already seene:

the good government of Queen Elizabeth not being in probability likely to beare the charges (without falling into some destructive commotion) of two such expensive princes in succession, without having one more popular to intervene.

10. After the peace, of too neere concernment to his catholick majesty to afford him leasure to imagine, much lesse to insert so rugged an article as the performance of any promise our king had made before his reception, in case the papists did not oppose, (which I have found registered by many, and so high as amounted to a toleration at least,) he observed, in prudence, it could not be conceded by this new king, however he stood affected in his desires, having so many of his subjects protestants, for one of the Roman profession: And being besides no more zealous then other princes, that make use of religion only for a fence to immure their persons and prerogative; but esteeme it a meere accident where reason of state drives on a bargaine without it; he

left the poore catholickes in the wide field of the Scotish cruelty, who did daily beg, sell, or exchange, such as preferred conscience before unreasonable compositions, remaining obstinate in their rescusancy: which, in this excessive extremity, some either were so far indulged by others, or themselves, as to take their estates off from this Scotch book, did about this time go to church. Whilest King James stood so amazed at his present felicity, that the fleecing his subjects did seeme to concerne him no more then it doth the love-sick bridegroome to loose all his gloves, ribbands, garters, and poynts, to the very single one that keeps all from, &c. For though the frequent petitions of these plundered people, no lesse then the recommendations of ministers of forraigne states, might for the present incline his heart (which, in its own nature, was not cruell) to commiseration, yet, upon a lively representation of that northerne puppet play, whose scenes they lay in the church of Rome, pretending the least candour used

to those Canaanites would call his mothers sinnes to a new remembrance, and so conjure up the spirit of rebellion, against which there can be no apter sacrifice then the retainers to that community, which beautifies the vesteries of Scotland, &c. in the shape of a beast, &c. which once heard interpreted by a curtailed divine, he either durst not, or would not, abate this rigor, but rather increased their despaire by daily threats of worse, and invectives owned as written by himselfe, which, though some might consider as too theatricall to be reall, yet others, not so well versed in his majesties royall craft, and having possibly besides been swallowed by one of these harpies, that, like cormorants, will retaine the prey 'till their throats be cut, may be excused in part, if, finding their hopes deluded, they fell into despaire, especially hearing the uncessant cry made by the commons in the house of parliament, for a fresh supply of lawes against rescusants, and all that lay but under the least notion of a popish affection;

which was a latitude some extended as far as prelacy, others bounded it very little on this side anabaptisme:[1] Though they saw

[1] The favourers alike, and the enemies of James, allowed, that the desperate resolution of the powder plot sprung out of the despair of the catholics. The Earl of Northampton enlarged on this point at the trial of the conspirators

"If any one greene leafe for catholiques could have bene visibly descerned by the eye of Catesby, Winter, Garnet, Faux, &c. they would neither have entered into practise with forraine princes, during the queenes time for preuention of the kings lawful and hereditarie right, nor haue renued the same, both abroad and at home, by missions and combinations, after his majesty was both applauded and entered.

"It is true, that, by confessions, we finde that false priest Watson, and arch-traitour Percy, to have bin the first devisers and diuulgers of this scandalous report, as an accursed ground, whereon they might with some advantage, as it was conceived, build the castles of their conspiracie.

"Touching the first, no man can speak more soundly to the poynt then myselfe: for, being sent into the prison by the king, to charge him with this false alarum, only two daies before his death, and upon his soule, to presse him in the presence of God, and as hee would answer it at another bar, to confesse directly, whether, at either of both these times, he had accesse unto his majestie at Edinborough; his majestie did give him any promise, hope, or comfort of encouragement to catho-

them daily thrown into a denne of Scotch-men, which the court did already so naturally resemble, as nothing made penall by law, either in church or common-weale, but was by the king granted to his country-

liques, concerning toleration; he did there protest, upon his soule, that he could neuer winne one ynch of ground, or drawe the smallest comfort from the king in those degrees, nor further, then that he would have them apprehend, that, as he was a stranger to this state, so, till he understood in all poynts how those matters stood, hee would not promise fauour any way, but did protest, that all the crownes and kingdomes in this world should not induce him to change any iote of his profession, which was the pasture of his soule, and earnest of his eternall inheritance. Hee did confesse, that in very deede, to keep up the hearts of catholiques in loue and duety to the king, hee had imparted the kings wordes to many, in a better tune, and a higher kinde of descant, then his booke of plaine song did direct: because hee knewe that others, like slie bargemen, looked that way, when their stroke was bent another way. For this he craued pardon of the king, in humble maner, and for his maine reasons of a higher nature then these figures of hypocrisie, and seemed penitent, as well for the horrour of his crime, as for the falshood of his whisperings."—*A true and perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet, a Jesuite, and his Confederates*, 1606. 4to.

men, and by them exacted to the uttermost farthing. Many in the meane time venting their spleen (capable of better imployment) in libels and songes, of one of which I remember two lines at this time, and may do more hereafter:

> In Scotland he was borne and bred,
> And though a beggar, must be fed.

This made the papists look about them, not a little terrified to see the king turne his quill (the sharpest weapon he handled throughout his whole raigne) against the pope. And though they had fairer cards at that time to shew for their opinions, (by reason of the bishops and more politicke clergy, who began now to find no head so likely to support them, as one naturally issuing out of their own body, being in this single condition likly no longer to subsist, than found necessary to the temporall power,) then they were ever able to draw during the dayes of the queene: Yet they wanted patience to attend their better for-

tune, which no time since the dissolution of the abbyes, (King James holding no bishop, no king, for as reall an article in the mystery of monarchy, as they did no ceremony, no bishop, in that of the hierarchy,) was more likely to have brought about, had they not manifested such foule play, as an indeavour to blow up the houses of parliament; a treason of so bloudy an intendment, that it almost appeares a fiction to us that saw it, though two of the heads of the conspirators, Catesby and Percy,[1] (if not since removed, and others set in their places, as I have been told,) remaine still

[1] Lord Northampton, in his speech against Garnet, gives a similar account of the disposal of Percy's head.

"It falles out in a better consequence, that the skull of faithlesse Piercie should stand sentinel where he was once captaine pioner; and Lambeth should now be Catesbyes horizon, that was his arsenall: and their giddie pates are left *tanquam malus navis*, like the mast of a ship, to use the prophets phrase, to warne passengers by what iust disaster these rouing pyrates came to their unhappy end: especially for seeking the golden fleece, not by Jason's merit, but by Medæa's sorcery."—*Proceeding against the late Traitors*, 1606. 4to.

on the House of Lords to witnesse it; some priests having disavowed any such thing in print beyond sea, where I my selfe was asked the same question: And such as want impudence to deny it, doe yet only acknowledge it for the single attempt of some few discontented spirits, rendered desperate through the heavy affliction they then lay under: all their hopes being lost in the neglects of the kings of Spaine and England. The first remaining as carelesse of his faith, as the other did of the performance of his word: Though Garnet, their arch priest, was one, and about that time prayers and fasts appointed to be used by those Romishly affected throughout this whole realme.

11. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any effect or extent this powder might have reached, had it not failed of successe: since one did confine it, (who pretended to have been assisting at the springing of divers mines,) to the circle it lay in, and no farther than to the shaking of the contiguous buildings; whereas the

judgments of others no lesse experienced, delivered at least the whole isle to the fury of it. But the Lord Wilmot did, in my mind, offer the most probable conjecture, (who had seene a like quantity of powder fired upon a wharfe in Dublin,) that, by reason of the weight and straightnesse of the vault, which would have given it all leasure to kindle, it could not but have wrought dire effects upon the city it selfe: Since the other did no lesse, though it had no narrower arch to restraine it, than that of heaven. This I am sure of, that it had overwhelmed church and state; a conspiracy drag'd out of hell, nay, worse than the devill himselfe, for he seeks to preserve his own, whereas, this passed by few of the same profession, many knowne papists, then sitting in the House of Lords, besides other private ones, that were mingled amongst the commons. Happy for us that may safely guesse at the consequence, and are by speciall mercy of Almighty God removed from the danger: It having been very un-

likely for our family to escape, since at that very time my father maintained Mr Thomas Brightman under his roofe. Yet let me justify the charity of these underminers so far, as to say, they only intended, in their calculation, the destruction of the House of Lords; unlesse report was found more charitable than they.

12. Here, as in most conspiracies of like composition, the former-mentioned priest was a principall ingredient; of whom, after his death, they reported wonders, as that the perfect effigies of his face remained in the straw used to dry up the bloud on the scaffold; but all the miracle I could observe was the prodigiousnesse of the attempt, who have had some of those strawes in my hands, yet could observe no more than by imposing upon my imagination, (first prompted through others report,) I found, as may be in all strawes else, the resemblance of a beard, and something fancy was at that time apt to cast into the mold of a face; being formerly suborned by the

generall opinion: Yet these no doubt are sold, and pass at this day for reliques, as I know they did twenty years after, and he for a holy saint.[1] From whence we may judge at the originall, no lesse than validity, of divers at this day current amongst us; such false coyne being in some judgments absolved from all tincture of corruption due to deceit, by the profit and reverence they procure to commerce: As if God had so poorly provided for his honour as to want the weake supporters of falsehood and credulity; since what he could say in excuse of the treason, (which he professed alwaies to abhorre,) was, that it came to his knowledge under the seale of confession. He was executed at the west gate of Paules,

[1] One Wilkinson was the promulgator of this pretended miracle, which was said to display not only Garnet's very features, but a star and cross on the forehead, a cherubim hovering upon the chin, and a glory surrounding the whole. Gualterus Paulus, a German jesuit, turned the letters of the name *Henricus Garnetus* into *Pingere Cruentus Arista,* and added to this miserable anagram an equally wretched gloss. See SOMERS' *Tracts,* vol. ii. p. 110. Scott's edit.

having the favour only to hang 'till he was dead; the rest being used too cruelly, as may be thought by all that remove their eyes never so little from the merit of the cause.

13. The discovery appeared no lesse admirable, than the treason, to such as tooke the printed report for authenticke, that a letter was sent to the Lord Morley, and from him to his majesty, &c. a neat device of the treasurer's to fetch him in, to whose estate or person, if not both, he had a quarrell.[1] He being very plentifull in

[1] This seems a strained pitch of incredulity. If Cecil, as hinted in the text, had intended any scheme against Lord Morley's estate or person, he was so far from pursuing it, that, in his speech upon Digby's trial, he gives that nobleman high credit for his discovery. Neither was Morley left unrewarded by the court; for Wilson, in his History of James I., acquaints us, that he had an annuity of 500*l.* granted for his life, and a pension of 200*l.* to him and his heirs for ever. It was, on the other hand, never denied, that Cecil had received intelligence from abroad, or perhaps from the French ambassador at home, that there were some extraordinary preparations on foot among the English catholics; information of a nature much too general

such plots, writing a book a little after, wherein, to magnify his zeale to religion and the state, he published a libell, where they threaten to kill him, with a well-pen'd answer, both thought to smell of the same inke. All which he did to recover the love of the people, forfeited by the hate he expressed to their darling Essex, and the desire he had to render justice and prerogative arbitrary. But he that followes this tracke too farre, may possibly fall into the snare of power.

14. I never found any signall favour or respect given from the court to the Lord Morley; which renders their conjecture the more probable, who did report, as from the French embasadour then resident, that the first intimation of the powder treason came from his master, who received it from the jesuites of his faction, to the end he might share in our ruines; the kingdome of England being, in the pope's own judgment,

to have led to the discovery of such a very strange and peculiar design.

too great an addition to that of Spaine, where, though it was first coyned, (some say during the dayes of Queene Elizabeth,) yet the priests that undertooke the promoting it sought to render it the most beneficiall they could to their respective patrons. And here I cannot omit, that, after this happy discovery, his catholique majesty sent an agent on purpose to congratulate King James his great preservation; a flattery so palpable, as the pope could not refraine laughing in the face of Cardinall D'Ossat* when he first told it him, nor he forbear to informe his king of it, as may be found in his printed letters: It being notorious, that at James's first assumption to the throne of England, none sought his destruction more cordially than the Spaniard, 'till a continued tract of experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impossibility of perswading him to forme any

* This must be a mistake: Cardinal D'Ossat died March 1604, and the gunpowder plot was not discovered until November 1605.

league with France or other Christian prince against him. Nor was our king himselfe backward in fomenting this innocent opinion amongst his neighbours, but did, as soone as he could possibly, by neglecting the royall ships, and casting contempt upon all formerly in military imployment, (the winges, nailes, and teeth of the nation,) testify to the world he meant to spoile no people of their honour, lands, felicity, goods, or lawes, but those all princes celebrated for wisdome and gallantry think themselves tied in nature to preserve: by which he intailed misery upon his succession, and, without the more mercy of God, eternall slavery to, &c. For by penning up the English valour, and opening the fountaines of honour, with a succession of neglect cast upon the nobility and commons in their representatives, by denying them their reasonable demands, or deluding them after his royall assent given, by going contrary to what was enacted; these practises put him upon such low shifts, that he at last having ren-

dered himselfe uncapable of trust, did descend to have the mony given by the parliament deposited in the hands of commissioners; out of which he did notwithstanding after force it, according as his impertinent expences demanded supplies. Nor was he more steady in his compacts with forraigne princes, who, in a small time, became so well acquainted with his complexion, that his promise did not incite them either to hope or feare, or raise in any of them the passions of love or hatred. And this is one of the reasons then given, why the most Christian king did so farre indulge his preservation, as to advertise him of the former conspiracy, lest he should exchange Herb John for Coloquintida. Another, but, in my opinion, (though strongly prest by his ministers,) a very weak one, (for what obligation can restraine a prince that sees an advantage before him,) was the favours received from hence during the league: But the most probable was the advantage Spaine was likely to make of it,

first, by reason he had an army then ready in Flanders to land in the huge mist so black a cloud must needs have caused over the nation. Nor can his holinesse himselfe look upon our ruine with any affection; England being of too great a consequence to fall under any other jurisdiction save her owne, but to such an excesse as may hazard his obedience: Many things being now suffered in relation to the feare of others, which would not in a full plenitude of power be conceded out of love; besides experience hath sufficiently informed the consistory, that church lands are not only unraveld, but so weaved into the estates of the laity, as not to be capable of separation by any conversion or other heate, then such a zeale as first refunded them out of the hearts of converts, and stamped upon them an impresse of merit; not likely to be kindled amidst such knowledge as printing hath inspired Europe withall, and by which so strict a watch is kept over what is dubious, as nothing can quietly passe

without such a warrant from reason, as the clergy have in no age been yet able to produce. Wherefore, their hopes are in a manner buried as to the profits of England, and by consequence chil'd from any vigorous prosecution farther then concerns his holiness's honour, in seeming to desire the preservation of those catholickes that remaine: And this did not only facilitate the entrance of King James, but might occasion the discovery of the plot; which done to some prince, had drawne death or banishment upon them all; for at the bottome or top, either by contribution or prayers, the lawyers would not have stuck to find them all guilty: so as he then wanted not perswasions to banish them, but his complection being more flegme then choler, he only suffered the parliament to sharpen lawe against them, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their execution; it being the general opinion of the court, that after this he was more tender of their pre-

servations, they attaining by feare what no pity nor policy could procure.

15. To conclude: Whosoever revealed this conspiracy, it cost, as I have often been told, the king of France his life, not only by questioning the truth of his conversion, but did raise so high a suspicion of the immense treasure and mighty army he had with no lesse industry then secrecy gotten, together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his designe) in the hearts of Spaine and Rome, as they procured his death; his freedome to the king of England rendering this silence the more suspected.

16. Now to take off the subjects eyes from observing the indulgency used by James in behalfe of the papists, whom, though he had no cause to love, he found reason enough to feare, a quarrell was revived, (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped persecution, the bellowes of schisme,) with a people stiled *puritans*, who meeting no neerer a definition then the

name, all the conscientious men in the nation shared the contempt: Since under that generall terme were comprehended not only those brain-sick fooles, as did oppose the discipline and ceremonies of the church, and made religion an umbrella to impiety, but such as out of meere honesty refrained the vices of the times were branded by this title; weaved of such a fashion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better then a fooles-coat to men truly conscientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the best relation thought competent for preferment in church or common-weale: which made the bad glory in their impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace ashamed of any outward profession of sanctity. Court sermons were fraught with bitter invectives against these people, whom they seated in a classe farre neerer the confines of hell then papists; yet the wisest durst not define them. The king called them protestants scared out of their wits, others lovers of

God, and haters of their neighbours; foolish and insignificant expressions: for, had they held them to the names of hypocrits, knowne and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not risen, as since they have done, to the perpetuall detriment of church and state. But the bredth and newnesse of the name, together with the colour it hath, did not only delight and cover all that cheated under a pretence of sanctity, but stifled the seeds of goodnesse; so as probity was obstructed by deceit in the generall commerce, and religion, the guard of propriety, rendered uselesse, if not destructive to humane society.

Thus hath the divell quenched (for what was but a rivulet then is now swelled to a land-floud) that zeale with hypocrisy, and its concomitants shame and reproach, which in my fathers daies resisted the flames of the hottest persecution: For, to avoyd an imputation of puritanisme, (a greater rub in the way to preferment then vice,) our di-

vines, for the generality, did sacrifice more time to Bacchus then Minerva; and being excellent company, drew the most ingenious laity into a like excesse: And for their ordinary studies they were schoole points and passionate expressions; as more conversant with the fryars then the fathers, scorning in their ordinary discourse at Luther and Calvin, but especially at the last, so as I heard a bishop thank God he never (though a good poet himselfe) had read a line in him or Chaucer. The same used this simile in a sermon at court, that our religion, like the kings armes, stood between two beasts, the puritan and papist, which perhaps admitted of a better construction then he meant. The last being, like the lion, easily knowne; but the first, sutable to a unicorne, never seen but in painting. Nor was this schisme any waies dangerous, till King James, (more it may be thought out of ostentation, to shew such parts as are nothing necessary, then reason of state, only requisite in a prince,) made it consi-

derable, by pûtting it in competition with the doctrine generally profest, in a colloquie held before his royall person at Hampton Court: [1] where he sinned so highly against the experience to be deduced from the French and Scots, who, by offering the unquestioned, or at least legall profession to arbitration, have brought their religious habit into such a motly, as 'tis scarce discernable which side is the right, or with the most safety may be owned by the magistrate. Since till that dishonourable dispute, who should command, the diocesan or the priest, none did boggle at the surplice, crosse, ring; and so by consequence the Common Prayer Book, but out of pure conscience, and therfore unlikely to hurt any besides themselves; till the number increasing to such a proportion, made a vi-

[1] The celebrated attempt by the conference at Hampton Court, to reconcile the two great sects of protestants, served only to enable each of them to fix upon the very *shibboleths*, or watch-words, by which their parties were thereafter to be distinguished.

sible profit appeare to so many as, wanting better imployment, could but conforme their mode, words, and looks to these precisians; though discrepant in heart from any thing the first owners of the title of *puritan* did commonly practise in their conversation towards God and man: This generation being ordinarily found, especially after any long admittance, so well acquainted with the secrets of God, as to distinguish between the reprobate and elect. Which whimsy grew upon the kings disputation, (whom you must presume they overcame in noyse, and all things else but logique and power,) so universall, as it became a good benefactour to all uncapable through ignorance of any other preferment, and a sanctuary to such wicked persons as had the art to dissemble a repentance. Nor did the notorious debauchery of the episcopall clergy adde a little to the rent, much augmented by the Scotish propensity to presbytery, though the chiefest promoters of it in their doctrine and example were

the lecturers, vicars, and parsons of inconsiderable worth and livings, being the readier to oppose authority, as having little to loose; becoming by this meanes the darlings of the rabble. Nor did the suddaine translations of bishops from lesse to greater seas give time to visit sufficiently their respective charges; being more intent upon the receit of such taxes, as a long abused custome had estated them in, then upon reformation. I have been the more punctuall, because from the pulpit came all our future miseries, God not being served there as he ought. The court-sermons informing his majesty, he might as Christs vice-gerent command all, and that the people, if they denied him supplement, or inquired after the disposer of it, were presumptuous peepers into the sacred arke of the state; not to be done but under the severest curse, though it appeared likely to fall through the falshood or folly of those at the helme: But, on the contrary, the other qualified preachers did fulminate against non-resi-

dency, profanation of the Lords day, connivance at popery, persecution of Gods people, only inclusive in their congregations, and those that supplied the wants of such like saints as themselves, who maintained their families, and kept them in good plight out of the fasts they did weekly assigne, at first in private, and after before the face of the sunne, and all this without or against the leave of the magistrate. But if this should be prosecuted to its farthest extent, it would moderate, if not expunge, all the vilany legible in story.

17. Now by this time the nation grew feeble, and over-opprest with impositions, monopolies, aydes, privy-seales, concealments, pretermitted customes, &c. besides all forfeitures upon penall statutes, with a multitude of tricks, more to cheat the English subject, (the most, if not all, unheard of in Queene Elizabeth's dayes,) which were spent upon the Scots: By whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who, for want of honester tra-

fique, did extract gold out of the faults of the English, whose pardons they beg'd, and sold at intolerable rates, murder it selfe not being exempted: Nay, I dare boldly say, one man might with more safety have killed another, than a raskall-deare; but if a stagge had been knowne to have miscarried, and the authour fled, a proclamation, with a description of the party, had been presently penned by the attourny-generall, and the penalty of his majestics high displeasure (by which was understood the Star-chamber) threatned against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him. Thus satyricall, or, if you please, tragicall, was this sylvan prince against dear-killers, and indulgent to man-slayers. But least this expression should be thought too poeticall for an historian, I shall leave him dres'd to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next progresse after his inauguration, which was as greene as the grasse he trod on, with a fether in his cap, and a horne instead of

a sword by his side:[1] how sutable to his age, calling, or person, I leave to others to judge from his pictures, he owning a countenance not in the least regard semblable to any my eyes ever met with, besides an host dwelling in Anthill, formerly a sheppherd, and so metaphorically of the same profession: He that evening parted with his queene, and to shew himselfe more uxorious before the people at his first coming than in private he was, he did at her coach side take his leave, by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of the shoulders, for so low she went bare all the dayes I had the fortune to know her; having a skinne far

[1] That the reader may judge for himself, we have here inserted the copy of a rare print occurring in Turberville's "Noble Art of Venerie, or Hunting," 1611, prefixed to the chapter, entitled, "An Advertisement by the Translatour of the English Manner in Breaking up of the Deare." The huntsman is in the act of presenting to James the knife with which he is to make the *assay*, i. e. the first cut on the stag's breast, to discover how fat he is. The dress and appearance of his majesty is an excellent commentary on Osborne's text.

more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendred her very debonaire.

18. I doe now consent freely to the justnesse of their award, who may in this age condemne of vanity such observations as these: Yet having deduced from experience, that it is not only the frailty, but custome and pure nature of humanity to venerate the least splinter of antiquity, beyond any thing beares the impresse of the present age, though commonly of no higher descent then the Grecian or Roman monarchy, young and infantine in relation to the world's beginning, and so of an inconsiderable force to contest with printing, having themselves, with all the monuments they could raise, been out-stripped by a number of bookes, that had nothing else to keep them alive but the inke that dropped from the writers pen. Nor shall I, incouraged by the presumption of this greater advantage, refuse to register all I know or doe but firmly believe, as one delighting

more in the contemplation of a future resurrection in the opinions of those that may possesse this nation many ages hence, then terrified with the censures or contempt of my own. Nor did I ever yet meet any reason to alter the confidence I have in some of my contemporaries, that they equall, if not exceed, such as are most celebrated in all things but time: And he that is such an infidell in the desert of his country as to deny it, I leave him to our former sermons for his conversion, and to the stage for a finall confutation of so much partiality. As for me, I ever aimed my indeavours rather at the satisfaction of a single reader, like myselfe, who only seekes to learne, than those think they are able to teach; who deale by authours, as the Jewes did by our Saviour, that buried all the advantage might have been made of his divinity, in the seeming frailties of his humanity, without which they could not have had any commerce, or understanding of truth, or drawne any benefite from what

others writ, or himselfe suffered. Neither can I apprehend it a greater folly in me to register the yellownesse of Queen Anne's haire, with other levities, (which may seeme pertinent to posterity, though triviall now, yet of as high concernment as Cæsar's nose,) than for the Earle of Arundell to give so many hundred crownes for an urne, a mason would not have valu'd at a penny;[1] yet he was not only commended but imitated by King Charles, who cannot appeare ignorant to any so happy as to read what he hath left. And these are the merchants I look one day to trafique with; in the meane time, the stock of the buyer need not lye dead, having some thing else of more credit in the world's opinion, though not in my own that writ it. But, to sound a retreat to this sally, I would faine know,

[1] Thus profanely does the author treat the celebrated collection of Arundelian marbles, collected by the celebrated Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Nor can the unfortunate Charles the First's love of the fine arts be justly stated as an aggravation of his foibles.

how this low circumstance could be spared by such almanack-gazers, (that are none of the booksellers worst chapmen,) who may give credit to the White King,* or the vision of one in greene, said to be averred from Italy by ———; though I take such predictions upon no more solid an accompt, than flying vapors the former terrified ima-

* The celebrated Lily published an exposition of a (pretended) ancient prophecy, concerning a *White King*, which ran thus:—"When the lion of rightfulnesse is dead, then shall arise a White King in Britain, first flying, and after riding, after ligging downe, and in this lig down he shall be lymed, and after that he shall be led. Then shall be gadred together much folk, and he shall take helpe for him; then shall be sought helpe, and there shall none arise but bed for head. And then shall one gone there, the sun ariseth another, then the sun gone down, &c. &c. &c. After the White King shall fall into a kirk-yard over a hall." In interpreting this piece of fustian, it cost the astrologer hard work to make out James I. to be the *lion* of *rightfulness*, since he very little resembled that magnanimous animal. But Charles I. was said to be the White King, because, contrary to former usage, he was apparelled in white at the coronation. See the Lives of Ashmole and Lilye, 8vo. 1774. p. 258. Of the Green King we have found no traces.

ginations, of a discontented people doe not seldome rally into the prodigious shapes of armies and fighting men.

19. All kings cast away mony the day of their enthronement, but James did it all his life. And here, to speak God's truth, what better measure could be expected from that line, the English folly or hypocrisy had rendred motherlesse, by the infamous and unprincely mediation of a hangman? But the fault in suffering an alien by birth, no lesse than an enemy in affection, to enter by any wider admittance than through both houses of parliament, hath not only given the nation in generall, but the Earle of Northumberland in particular, sufficient cause to wipe their eyes: who cannot but leave to posterity the scarres, if not woundes, received from such a blind mistake, as the imagining any future obligation or precedent benefit should expunge out of the heart of a prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the markes of a

former injury, or a jealousy depending on an after feare. For the thoughts of kings, when established, are so farre altered, as to receive inspirations from no remoter interests then what their own passions direct them to, unlesse compeld: So, as James, not taking his prospect from the love shewn in his quiet admittance, but the height of his subjects power, began to muster up the armies the English had raised against his native country, and not only to measure, but to weigh the bloud spilt on the borders,[1] amongst which he found that of

[1] The fate of the clan or sept of the Græmes, a numerous and powerful race of borderers, who inhabited the lower part of what was called the Debateable Land, on the western frontier, between England and Scotland, gives some colour to the charge. These Græmes, although said to be originally of Scottish extraction, had generally adhered to the English interest before the union of the crowns, and were therefore regarded by James I. with peculiar dislike. In the very first year of his reign in England, he issued a proclamation, denouncing this unfortunate clan, as "no meet persons" to live in their fathers' lands and habitations, and imposed, it would seem, by his own sole authority, a tax for their transplantation to Ireland. The particu-

James the Fifth mingled with his allies, which prompted him no lesse to revenge, than the many perjuries, cruelties, and perfidious carriages of his ancestors, still hanging on a file in the English memory, did to distrust. Nor had the Earle of Northumberland, of honourable extraction and exquisite erudition, though muffled with love to the person of that prince and his own ambition, any reason to think the memory of the money he supplied him with in Scotland would not quite vanish upon the first apparition of the exchequer at Westminster; or that the forces he offer'd to raise in his favour, in case of opposition, would seeme lesse than formidable to him when quiet in his chaire; where once placed, monarches doe rather ruminate on future dangers than former benefites: Kings, like imperious husbands, perverting, after marriage, those stolen favours into jealousy,

lars respecting which may be found in the Introduction to Nicolson and Burn's History of Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 117.

that before an indissoluble interest were reckoned for markes of no lesse obligation than confidence; out of a distrust, that, upon discontent, the same arts and caresses may be imploy'd to their damage. However this suited with Northumberland's sense, I am sure it fell pat with his succesſe: for after indevour failed to find him so farre smutted with the gunpowder plot as might engage his life, he was cast into the Star-Chamber,[1] that den of arbitrary

[1] Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, was thus harshly treated on account of his relationship to Thomas Percy, a ringleader in the gunpowder treason. The following are the particulars of the accusation and sentence, briefly touched upon in the text:

"On June vj. 1606, he was brought from the Tower into the Star-Chamber, and there convicted of the several contempts, misprision, and offences following:

1. For endeavouring to be the head of the papiests, and to procure them toleration.

2. For admitting Thomas Percy to be one of the king's gentlemen pensioners, without ministring to him the oath of supremacy, knowing the said Percy to be a recusant.

3. Whereas the said earl, being, and sitting in council with the other lords, and saw apparent inducement, that the said Thomas Percy was a chief practiser and

justice, where the keeper, for the time being, two bishops, two judges, and as many

contriver of the most horrible treason, newly discovered; and the said earl being, by the good and just reason of the king and council, restrained and commanded to keep his house; yet the said earl wrote two several letters into the north parts unto his friends and servants, to have a care of his mony and revenues; supposing the said Thomas Percy to be fled into those parts; negotiating [with] them, to preserve the same from the hands of the said Thomas Percy, and to bring the said treasurer up unto him; utterly neglecting to give any commandment for apprehending the said Thomas Percy, being known for so damnable and dangerous a traytor.

4. In presuming to write and send letters, after his restraint, without leave of his majesty or his privy-council.

5. That he being a privy-counsellor, sworn to preserve the king's majesty and the state; to have more care of his treasure than of the king and state, without any endeavour to apprehend so dangerous a traitor, as he knew the said Percy was.

6. Lastly, his letters into these parts, where Percy was fled; the said earl, knowing at the council-table how the state of all things stood against him, was to give him a watch-word, and intelligence for his further flight and escape, &c.

For the which, the said earl was adjudged to pay a fine, to the use of his majesty, of thirty thousand pounds, and to be displaced and removed from the place of a privy-counsellor, and from being captain of his ma-

wise lords and honest great officers sate, as were pleased to come, the most of whom, though unable to render a reason for their censure, did, every Wednesday and Friday in terme time, concurre like, &c. to teare such as refused to worship the minion, or to yeeld to the pretended royall prerogative. Nor did they scape who were any way satyricall, a thing not to be avoided by the lovers of truth; corruption being as common as execution, with which it seldome went other than hand in hand: But the maine imployment of this court, was, like schoole-boyes, to hold up one the other, whilest their master whip't them. Amongst whom was this earle fined (if I mistake not) at 20,000ls. with imprisonment in the Tower during his-majesties pleasure, which was

jesty's pensioners, and from being lieutenant of any of his majesty's counties; and from all and every other offices which he held of his majesty's grace and favour; and hereafter to be disabled to take upon him or exercise any of the said offices and places, and to return prisoner to the Tower of London, there to remain during his life."—COLLINS's *Peerage*, ii. 426.

so great, that he kept him in there divers yeares,' upon what score was not then so

* The effect of this long and severe confinement upon the temper and studies of the earl, is thus described in Collins' Peerage, where the article relating to the house of Northumberland is well and minutely written. '"Had not this cruel imprisonment befallen him in his prime of life, so vigorous and active a mind, in all probability, would have done his country the service of preventing several invasions on the liberty of the subject. We have mentioned above his regard for learning; and so liberal an encourager was he of literature, arts, sciences, and especially the mathematics, that (as we have said) he allowed pensions to several learned men. Anthony Wood relates, 'That the Rev. Mr Nathaniel Torporley, a noted mathematician, being known to the great Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, the generous favourer of all good learning, was received into his patronage, and had a pension paid yearly unto him, for several years, from his purse.' The same author gives also this account: 'Thomas Hariot went, in 1584, with Sir Walter Raleigh, to Virginia, where he was employed in the discovery and surveying thereof, &c. After his return into England, Sir Walter got him into the acquaintance of that noble and generous Count, Henry, Earl of Northumberland; who, finding him to be a gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature, and well read in the obscure parts of learning, did allow him a yearly pension of 120*l.* About the same time, Robert Hues and Walter Warner, two other mathematicians, who were known also to the said count, did receive from him yearly pensions also, but of less value;

easily discerned: for if Percy was his kinsman, it is as true that he had layn many nights in the king's chamber before he came hither, and been imploy'd in private by him to the English catholickes; yet his majesty would have taken it ill to have

as did Torporley. So that, when the said earl was committed prisoner to the Tower, in 1606, Hariot, Hues, and Warner, were his constant companions, and were usually called *the Earl of Northumberland's Three Magi.* They had a table at the earl's charge; and the earl himself did constantly converse with them, and with Sir Walter Raleigh, then in the Tower.' Wood also informs us, that Nicholas Hill, another scholar, proficient in the same recondite studies, was also taken into the retinue of that most noble and generous person, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, with whom he continued for some time in great esteem.' As also Thomas Allen, an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, 'who was often courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, a great patron of mathematicians: whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that count, but by such artists, who then lived with, and often retired to him, as Tho. Hariot, John Dee, Walt. Warner, Nath. Torporley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world.' From his fondness for such studies, he was called of some, *Henry the Wizzard.*"—COLLINS's *Peerage*, ii. 433.

been thought a papist, or a conspirer of Queen Elizabeth's death. Not to proceed farther upon an exasperated and single evidence, otherwise than that it did not sute with any thing I could observe in his temper, much lesse with a person of his honour and fortune to exchange so happy a present condition, for any future advantage he could hope to scramble out from amongst cinders and ruins of his country.

20. It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these (wherein not only the mother, but her daughters are ruined) for the principall gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions, not meerly mechanick, to meet in Pauls church by eleven, and walk in the middle ile till twelve, and after dinner from three to six; during which time, some discoursed of businesse, others of newes. Now, in regard of the universall commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantagious imployment, did, du-

ring my aboad in London, which was three-fourth parts of the yeare, associate my selfe at those houres with the choycest company I could pick out, amongst such as I found most inquisitive after affaires of state; who being then my selfe in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future preferment, I appeared the more considerable, being as ready to satisfy, according to my weak abilities, their curiosity, as they were mine: who, out of a candid nature, were not ordinarily found to name an author, easily lost in such a concourse, where his own report was not seldome within few minutes returned to him for newes by another. And these newesmongers, as they called them, did not only take the boldnesse to weigh the publick, but most intrinsick actions of the state, which some courtier or other did betray to this society; amongst whom divers being very rich, had great summes owing them by such as stood next the throne, who, by this meanes, were rendered in a manner

their pensioners, so as I have found since little reason to question the truth of what I heard then, but much to confirme me in it; wherefore the bolder to insert a report then current, which was, the king thought Northumberland too intimate with his sonne Henry, who, in vindication of this earles persecution, cast a malignant aspect upon the houses of Suffolke and Salisbury, thought no waies avertible but by his death. But since a likely lye may with more manners and lesse reproach be imposed upon beliefe, then an improbable truth without witnesse, I shall for this time wade no farther in the present discourse, already thought dry in the memory of the most: Though this remaines upon record, that brave Fortescue, that did first oppose this Scotish succession, but upon caution, injoyed his liberty, without any more considerable losse then sustained by the exchange of the Chancellors place in the Exchequer for that in the dutchy of Lancaster, remaining to the last a counsellor: Whereas Northumber-

land, that had drawne his sword in his favour, was made captive,[1] disgraced, and

[1] Osborne being ignorant of the private intercourse between James and Cecil, was not aware how that wily statesman had poisoned the king's favourable inclinations towards Northumberland, by representing him as the close confederate of Raleigh and Cobham, and pretending that all his advances to the King of Scotland were the effects of levity, if not of treachery. The following passage will shew how circumstantially he stated the charge:

"You must remember also, that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity, that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, that met every day at Durham-house, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town, out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice eggs, that were daily and nightly sitten on. These things I am enforced to repeat, that that which follows may be better understood; for *ex unguibus leonem, ex cauda scorpionem, ex utrisque, id est unguibus et cauda, dæmonem.*

"The first canon that was concluded in this conventicle, was, that Northumberland, who is now, by their illusions, and his own giddiness, a sworn enemy to King James, should offer himself as a willing instrument to Cecil, to reconcile him to King James; for *inter cæcos dominatur luscus;* and in this concert that have ran foreign courses, Northumberland, out of a residence of kind affection in his uncle to the queen, your mother, makes himself omnipotent in the good conceit of his majesty. Of all this I gave notice to Cecil; drawing

insulted over by his enemies: which fortune, to render it more terrible, did some

it, and much more, from a person whom he trusteth as himself; for such a leaking sieve did never water the wild gardens of Hesperides. Cecil being fenced and well armed by this precaution, desired infinitely, that this offer might be made, to the end that he might make amends for some frank words cast out to him before his last going over, of his allowance of the right of King James before any, though he did not mean to make circles with Archimedes, while siege was laid to the city. At the last he comes, and was so well paid in his own coin by Cecil, as the fool, finding that he had set up his candle to a wrong saint, began to work back again, and told his own wife, that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned; and that both he and all his friends would end their lives, before her brother's great god should reign in the clement. The lady told him again, that rather than any other than King James should ever reign in this place, she would rather eat their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows instantly. He told her, that the secretary had too much wit ever to live under a man that had a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman that was tractable, and to be counselled. The lady told him, that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's mishap, for [if] he kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him, than the same, or a worse destiny."—*The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI., King of Scotland.* Edin. 1766, p. 29.

yeares after alot his son, the Lord Percy, a wife out of the family of Salisbury, whose bloud, the father said, would not mingle in a bason, so averse was he from it.* Nor

* Algernon, ninth Earl of Northumberland, and son to him of whom the text treats, married to his first wife Lady Anne Cecil, daughter to William, and granddaughter to Robert, Earl of Salisbury; to which last statesman, the misfortunes of his father were chiefly to be attributed. Nor was this the only mortification which Earl Henry sustained by family alliance.

"Wilson, in his Life of King James I., relates, 'That Lady Lucy Percy, the earl's youngest daughter, of incomparable beauty, (solemnized in the poems of the most exquisite wits of her time,) married the Lord Haye, (after Earl of Carlisle,) against her father's will, (who aimed at a higher extraction,) during his imprisonment; which the old earl's stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and Haye, whose affection was above money, (setting only a valuation upon his much admired bride,) strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the king for his father-in-law, that he got his release.' [They were married on November 6, 1617, and the king honoured the wedding with his presence at supper; and it was not till four years after that he was freed.] 'But the old earl would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand; so that, when he had liberty he restrained himself: and with importunity was wrought upon, by (such as knew the distemper of his body might best qualify those of

had Fortescue better successe, when, by a huge entertainment at Cornebury, he went about to oblige the king; for, as Tomlins, once his secretary, told me, he at his parting laughed, and let a —— in the porch. Wherefore, we may note it, as equally pernitious to oblige a prince above a reasonable requitall, as to oppose him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time, the puritans, exasperated by the bishops, (who, to render their preferments of more consequence to monarchy, upon whose dependance they now only subsisted, would not suffer them

his mind,) persuading him, for some indisposition, to make a journey to the Bath, which was one special motive to accept of his son-in-law's respects.

"The stout old earl, when he was got loose, hearing that the great favourite, Buckingham, was drawn about with a coach and six horses, (wondered at then, as a novelty, and imputed to him as a mastering pride,) thought, if Buckingham had six, he might very well have eight in his coach; with which he rode through the city of London to the Bath, to the vulgar talk and admiration: and recovering his health there, he lived long after at Pitworth, in Sussex."—COLLINS, ii. 434.

to be so long at quiet as might give them leave to recover their senses,) did, in a submissive way, (incouraged by the Hugonots successe,) mediate another colloque before the king, whom they indeavoured to draw to their party by the high esteeme pretended they had of his learning, though church land was the most pious inducement in the eyes of those Scotish, and English, that did prompt them to it upon promise of their best assistance: But his majesty having found, by his former experience, that schismes are attended with a smaller traine of inconveniences, and easier buried, and with lesse clamour, in sufferance and contempt, then by opposition or disputation; did most stifly deny it, appearing highly displeased that, after so manifest a conviction, he should againe be tempted to hazzard his reason against such as had nothing but a brutish obstinacy to oppose: which answer was allowed of as farre more majesticall and politick, then his former concession in descending to a formall disputation: since

opinions rooted by descent are sooner chilled through want of preferment, then eradicated by power, which arraignes the exposing of any religion to contest as dangerous, seeing all at this day in veneration, are under persecution in some place or other, wherefore, unable to silence the reason of those formerly suborned through a contrary education.

22. In the meane time this nation was rooted up by those Caledonian bores, as these homely verses do attest, which were every where posted, and do containe as many stories as lines, which I shall explaine, though they may possibly fall out of order, it not suting with the liberty of a spirit, that walkes rather for its owne exercise, then the instruction of an ignorant and ingratefull state, to be punctuall:

They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
They switch our nobles, and lye with their wives;
They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers,
They stab our sargeants, and pistoll our fencers.

That they were gracious with the English

ladies, none can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peepe into a court, where the love of women is found a consequence of the favour of the prince.

23. Wherefore, I shall take my first rise from him that was then Philip Herbert, since Earle of Mongomery,[1] a man carres-

[1] Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, had no qualities to recommend him as a royal favourite saving two; any one of which, however, would have rendered him acceptable to James I. These were comeliness of person, and indefatigable zeal in hunting. It can hardly be said, however, that he was promoted beyond his sphere, since he was made only Master of the Horse, and afterwards Chamberlain. His character was that of Squire Western, choleric, boisterous, illiterate, selfish, absurd, and cowardly. He was, besides, a profligate, a gambler, and, above all, an ungrateful rebel to the son of the prince who raised him, as he adhered with great vehemence to the cause of the parliament, and afterwards to that of Cromwell. It was, as in hatred and dishonour of learning, that this Vandal, holding the office of Chancellor of Oxford, was employed by the parliament, in 1647, to reform that university, from whence he expelled all who refused to take the covenant; "which was, upon the matter," says Clarendon, "the whole university:" scarce one master, or head of a college, and very few scholars or fellows, consenting to such resignation of their principles. The absurdities

sed by King James for his hansome face, which kept him not long company, leaving little behind it so acceptable as to render him fit society for any body but himselfe; and such bookes as posterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his understanding to a more candid proceeding then he used at Oxford, where he exercised greater passion against learning, that had by teaching books to speak English indeavoured to make him wise, then he did towards Ramsy, who, by switching him on the face at Croydon, rendered him ridiculous: It was at a horse-race, where many, both Scotch and English met; the latter of which did upon this accident draw together, with a resolution to make it a nationall quarrell, so farre as Mr John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his

of Pembroke laid him frequently under the lash of Butler and other satirists of the royal party. He died 26th January, 1649-50.

hand, crying, Let us breake our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London. But Herbert nôt offering to strike againe, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the king made him a knight, a baron, a viscount, and an earle, in one day;[1] as he well deserved, having for his sake, or rather out of feare, transgressed against all the gradations of honour: For if he had not torne to raggs that coat of armes, so often in my hearing braged of,[2] and so stanched the bloud then ready to be spilt, not only that day, but all after, must have proved fatall to the Scots, so long as any had stayd in England, the

[1] If Osborne be not indeed mistaken, this fortunate switching befell upon the 4th June, in the third year of James's reign; such at least was the date of Herbert's patent, as Lord Herbert of Shurland and Earl of Montgomery. He succeeded to his other title of Pembroke, by the death of his brother, without issue, in 1630.

[2] Osborne was master of horse to this nobleman, which explains his having heard him oft brag of his coat-of-arms.

royall family excepted, which, in respect to majesty, or their owne safety, they must have spared, or the kingdome been left to the misery of seeing so much bloud laid out as the triall of so many crabbed titles would have required; there being then, according to report, no lesse then fourteene, of which Parsons the jesuite, so impudent is this fraternity, makes the infanta the first. But they could not be these considerations that restrained Herbert, who wanted leasure no lesse then capacity to use them, though laid in his way by others: And therefore, if this effeminacy produced good to the nation, (at that time doubted by many,) the honor is only due to God, whose miraculous power was no lesse manifested, (upon so high a provocation and great incouragement as the whole field afforded Philip,) in raising so much fleagme in a man nobly borne as might master so great a fury, then when he discovered to Sampson a cold fountaine in the jaw-bone of an asse. And such of his friends as blame

his youth for doing nothing, take away all excuse could have been made for him had he done too much: Since all commonly arrive at the yeares of valour, before they can attaine to those of discretion. This I can attest for the man, that he was intolerable cholerick and offensive, and did not refraine, whilest he was chamberlaine, to break many wiser heads then his owne: Mr May, that translated Lucan, having felt the weight of his staffe; which, had not his office, and the place, being the banqueting house, protected, I question whether he would ever have strook againe:[1]

[1] Pembroke was Lord High Chamberlain to Charles I. It is probable that his violent demeanour, in the exercise of his office, was the subject of Fletcher's ridicule, when describing that of Calianax, in the Maid's Tragedy; who, in office, temper, talent, and poorness of spirit, exactly resembles Pembroke. "Would he were here," says the deputy-chamberlain, employed in keeping back the crowd at a masque; "he would run raging among them, and break a dozen wiser heads than his own in the twinkling of an eye."—*Act I. Scene II.* Clarendon says, the exercise of Pembroke's office required some rudeness, and that the order of the court depended upon his incivilities.

So disobliging were the most gratefull pleasures of the court; whose maskes and other spectacles, though they wholy intended them for shew, and would not have been pleased without great store of company, yet did not spare to affront such as came to see them: which accuseth the king no lesse of folly, in being at so vast an expense for that which signified nothing but in relation to pride and lust, then the spectators (I meane such as were not invited) of madnesse, who did not only give themselves the discomposure of body attending such irregular houres, but to others an opportunity to abuse them. Nor could I, that had none of their share, who passed through the most incommodious accesse, count my selfe any great gainer, (who did ever find some time before the grand night to view the scene,)

Thomas May, who underwent the rude repulse mentioned in the text, was a man of talents. He translated Lucan, wrote several tragedies, an original poem on the exploits of Edward III., and a prose history of the Long Parliament, to which he was secretary. He died in 1652.

after I had reckoned my attendance and sleepe: There appearing little observable, besides the company, and what imagination might conjecture from the placing of the ladies, and the immense charge and universall vanity in cloathes, &c.

24. I have been told, the mother of Herbert tore her hair at the report of her son's dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity, would have ransom'd her own repute, if she had not redeemed her countries. She was that sister of Sir Philip Sidney, to whom he addressed his Arcadia, and of whom he had no other advantage, than what he received from that partiall benevolence of fortune, in making him a man; which yet she did, in some judgments, recompense in beauty: Her pen being nothing short of his, as I am ready to attest, as far as so inferiour a reason may be taken, having seene incomparable letters of hers. But, lest I should seeme to trespasse upon truth, which few doe unsubborn'd, as I protest I am, unlesse by her rhetorick, I

shall leave the world her epitaph, in which the author doth manifest himselfe a poet in all things but untruth:

Under neath this sable herse
Lies the subject of all verse:
Sidny's sister, Pembrok's mother;
Death, ere thou kilest such an other,
Faire and good, and learn'd as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.
Marble piles let no man raise
To her name, for after dayes
Some kind woman, borne as she,
Reading this, like Niobe,
Shall turn statue, and become
Both her mourner and her tombe.[s]

25. In the meane time, the king was much troubled at this accident, not being able to ruminate upon the consequence it might have produced, without trembling: Nor could he refraine from letting fall sharp expressions against the insolency of the Scots and folly of the English, whose bloud he

[s] The first six lines of this celebrated epitaph are found in Ben Jonson's works. It is possible that he cancelled the remainder, on account of the outrageous false wit with which they disgrace the commencement.

pretended to indulge most both within and without him: But this he soone retracted, carying such an awfull reverence to his own countrimen, who had chastised him in his mother's belly, as he durst not displease them, out of feare to finde himselfe deserted. It being past peradventure that he never looked upon the English as friends, the cause he rejoyced in nothing more than promoting excesse, by which he hoped to ruine nobility and gentry. But however remote his affections were, he durst not but banish Ramsey the court; a poore satisfaction for Herbert, that was left nothing to testify his man-hood but a beard and children, by that daughter of the last great Earle of Oxford,[1] whose lady was brought to his bed, under the notion of his mistris, and from such a virtuous deceit she is said to proceed.

[1] Pembroke's first wife, here mentioned, was Susan, daughter of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. After her death, he married the incomparable heiress of the

26. One thing was then remarkable at Croydon-field, that none but Sir Edward Sackville, of the English, went on the Scots side, and he out of love to the Lord Bruce, whom after he killed in a duell: which was so ill taken by his countrymen, as divers protested, that if the fray had succeeded, he was the first likely to have fallen.[1]

27. The second matter of worth in the

house of Clifford, Anne, daughter of George, Earl of Cumberland, equally celebrated for the manlier virtues of fortitude and magnanimity, and for those of female virtue, charity, and beneficence. If female spirit, either by descent or alliance, could have mended the poverty of her husband's, he might have derived it from his mother or his lady.

[1] Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset. An account of his desperate duel with Lord Bruce, of Kinloss, may be found in the Guardian. Lord Bruce's heart, inclosed in a silver case, was lately discovered in the family vault, at Valley-field, in the county of Fife, in Scotland. Lord Clarendon darkly confirms the popular tradition, which avers, that the cause of quarrel was Sackville's having seduced a sister of the Lord Bruce. If this be true, it might be the charms of his mistress, as much as friendship for her brother, that led him to adhere to the Scottish party in the brawl mentioned in the text.

verses concerns Mr Edward Hawly, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who, coming to court on a grand day, Maxwell (more famous for this and wealth, than civility or education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the roome by a black string he wore in his eare, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warme bloud, Hawly appearing of another temper than he at Croydon. Besides, being of Greyes Inne, not only his society, but all the gentry in London, tooke themselves concern'd so farre, as mere strangers flock'd to his chamber, and though more than needed, (he being apt enough for revenge himselfe,) they besought him to remember he had the honour of all the English gentry in his handes, and if managed with gallantry and discretion, he should find enough to stand by him; many offering to become his seconds, which he could not accept, having before made choice of Mr John Thoroughgood, since knighted, who told Maxwell, if he refused to fight,

Hawly would kill him where ever he met with an opportunity; which so frighted King James, that he sent for the benchers, and, through the mediation of Chancelour Bacon, formerly of the same society, tooke up the quarrell, forcing the Scot to give humble satisfaction to a quiet admission of what Mr Hawly should desire: And farther to solder up the breach, the students of Greyes Inne performed an exquisite maske before his majesty, by whom they were after invited to a great banquet; whereat the gentlemen, something contrary to the rules of civility, were so hasty, as to scramble rather than feed; for which they underwent a sharp censure, being in the presence of many Scots, who looked upon it with scorne, though owned themselves for masters of no great modesty. Besides, when they kissed the king's hand, many put it to their lips with their own, looked on at court for a low absurdity.

28. The third relates to one Murry, who killed, by the helpe of his men, a sargeant

that came to arrest him under or neare Ludgate; for which, more to satisfy the sheriffes of London, than justice, the two servants were hanged, and the master, who was principall, though with some difficulty, escaped. But the Lord Zankor found no such favour for killing Turner the fencer, who was a man of eminent parts, and so better deserved it, yet his servants and he were executed;[1] by whose death the

[1] Robert, sixth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, had the misfortune to lose an eye, in a trial of skill, with one Turner, a fencing-master. It is said, that he had no thought of revenging what was a mere accident on the part of Turner, until at Paris, Henry IV. understanding he had lost his eye in a rencontre, asked him emphatically, If the man yet lived who had done him such an injury? This question Lord Sanquhar unfortunately understood as a hint, that his honour could not subsist with the life of Turner; and accordingly he had the poor man shot in his own school, seven years after his receiving the offence, for which he took so bloody a revenge. At his execution, his firm, yet composed demeanour, with the high character he had enjoyed, for courage, talents, and accomplishments, greatly moved the compassion of the spectators; which, however, abated, when they saw that he died a catholic.

king satisfied in part the people, and wholy himselfe; it being thought he hated him for his love to the King of France, and not making any reply, when he said, in his presence, to one that called our James a second Solomon, that he hoped he was not David the fidler's son: Thus doe princes abuse one another.

29. In this place, my memory presents me with Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of Salisbury, famed for the most mortall enemy of the Earl [1] of Essex, and a seducer of the

Lord Bacon calls the execution of this nobleman the most exemplary piece of justice that ever came forth in any king's reign. See Lord Sanquhar's Trial in State Trials, vol. vii. p. 86.

[1] Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, second son of the celebrated Lord Burleigh. He was his father's equal in talents, and as remorseless in prosecution of his political advancement; for if Burleigh went to the grave burdened with the blood of the unfortunate Mary, his son persecuted even to death the gallant Essex. But Salisbury, much less fortunate in the monarch whom he served, makes in history a figure far inferior to that of his father. He corresponded with James long before he came to the English crown; and on his accession, entertained him splendidly in his house at Theobald's, with which the king was so much pleased, that

king, by perswading him this nation was so rich, it could be neither exhausted nor provoked; a saying generally lay'd to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the Earle of Sommerset, being in the flower of his favour before he had either wife or beard, had got a peremptory warrant to the treasurer for 20,000ls.; who, in his exquisite prudence, finding, that not only the exchequer, but the Indies themselves, would in time want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality, and not without reason apprehending the king as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the desert of the person that beg'd it, and knowing a pound, upon the Scotch accompt, would not pay for the shooing of a horse, by which his master might be farther led

he gave his host Hatfield Chase in exchange. Salisbury availed himself of the grant to inclose the waste, (a very unpopular act so near London,) and otherwise improved it; "so that," says Camden's Britannia, "for situation, contrivance, building, prospects, and other necessaries, to make a complete seat, it gives way to few in England."

out of the way of thrift, than in his owne nature he was willing to goe, being observed very tenacious in the distribution of any mony passed through his hands or in his presence; laid the former-mentioned summe upon the ground in a roome through which his majesty was to passe: who, amazed at the quantity, as a sight not unpossibly his eyes never saw before, asked the treasurer whose money it was, who answered, Yours, before you gave it away; whereupon the king fell into passion, protesting he was abused, never intending any such gift: And casting himselfe upon the heap, scrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred poundes, and swore he should have no more: However, it being the king's minion, Cecil durst not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the moiety. But this not working a perfect cure upon his masters profusenesse, or with the rest of his virtues being hid from the knowledge of the men, who, like flies, feast their affections upon the corruptions rather than

sounder partes of great men, and having before had such a dust raised in their cholers, by his sharp proceedings against the late Earle of Essex, and his inclosures of Hatfield-chase, (after he had, to his so great advantage, exchanged it for his manor of Theobals,) that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he said or did: To which the misfortunes accompanying him from his birth did not a little adde; a mulct in nature, like an optique spectacle, multiplying much, in the sight of the people, the apparitions of ill. Nor was his death, by prejudice, looked upon as Herod's, nor the place it attached him on, viz. Salisbury-plaine, in his coach, [1] nor Po, his physitian,

[1] From the printed contradiction of this scandalous story by Naunton, in the Fragmenta Regalia, as well as from a journal of Salisbury's illness, kept by the Rev. Mr Bowles, his chaplain, and printed in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i. book iv., it appears that he died in his chamber and bed, at Marlborough; but in coming over the Downs from Bath to that town, he was taken so ill, that he was forced to alight out of his carriage, until the air had renewed his strength. This circumstance probably led to the scandal of Osborne. The

then present, (a mere empericke, and celebrated for no skill but in the cure of the, &c.) small inducement to the reportes which followed: yet when these were spent, and he, as it were, retired into that sanctuary that doth hide reproach rather than increase it, inexorable fate, by the assistance perhaps of some impostume, (which his maligners translated into an effect of God's vengeance, and did dedicate it to his farther infamy,) brake the lead he was wrapped in, with so much noise and stench, as affrighted the by-standers: Therefore, no wonder he met with no fairer encomiums, of which I shall relate these, not savouring so much of scurrility, though perhaps lesse of wit, than many did then current:

Here lyes throwne, for the wormes to eate,
Little bossive Robbin, that was so great.
Not Robin, good-fellow, nor Robin Hood,
But Robin th' encloser of Hatfield wood.

Earl of Salisbury certainly died of a complication of disorders operating on a scorbutic habit of body.

Who seem'd as sent from ugly fate,
To spoyle the prince, and rob the state.
Owning a mind of dismall endes,
As trappes for foes, and tricks for friends.
But now in Hatfield lyes the fox,
Who stank while he liv'd, and died of the —.

It may be judged by these, how future chronicles agree with common fame, which, in my opinion, ought not to be rejected, if not chiefly relied upon. Those that follow came from so smart a penne in the king's sense, that he sayd, he hoped the author would dye before him; who it was God knowes:

Here lies Hobinall, our pastor while here,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did sheare.
To please us, his curre he kept under clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog.[a]
For oblation to Pan his custome was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us:
And through his false worship such power he did gaine,
As kept him o' th' mountaine, and us on the plaine;
Where many a horn-pipe he tun'd to his Phyllis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis.[b]

[a] *i. e.* King and Minister.

[b] Walsingham was the name of a popular tune. In

Till Atropos clapt him, a pox on the drab,
For (spight of his tarbox) he died of the scab.

It is possible posterity may find a key to these verses; if not, the losse is not much: however, it will not be uneasy for her to make one able to serve their turne that never knew the right.

How many so ever his faults were, he was of an incomparable prudence, and coming so neere after such an unadvised scatterer as King James, he might have feathered his family better then he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his servants, of which many came after into high places. Nor may that be improperly applied to him, which is, in another case, said of Gregory the Great, that he was the first ill treasurer, and the last good,

an old play, to which we have mislaid the reference, mention is made of a "cobler teaching black-birds to whistle *Walsingham*." But the Earl of Salisbury's favourite mistress was also named *Walsingham*; and hence the pun so much admired by James and by Osborne.

since Queene Elizabeth's daies: He not standing charged with any grosser bribery or corruption then what lay inclusive under the ceremony of new-yeares gifts, or his owne or servants sharing with such as by importunity rather then merit had obtained debentures out of the Exchequer; which, through these courses, came at last to be so farre exhausted, as it was not able to feed the privy purse, and beare the necessary charges of the houshold: And this put him upon an improvement of the customes, to the great discouragement of marchants; no lesse then the project of baronets, intended at first for a meere cheat, (as a person of honour and no stranger to Cecill did protest,) had not the great concourse that crouded after this title (rendered infamous by the base consideration of mony inserted in their patent) kept it in repute: There having been a motion made, if not a bill put into the last parliament of James against it: No more being by the primitive institution to be admitted then two

hundred, and they so qualified as were hard to be found, and so the likelier to be laught out of it after their mony paid, which was all the treasurer desired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the knights batchelors, as was supposed, and he in some disdaine questioned for it. But the sale of crowne-timber appeared of sadest consequence to the safety of the nation, in relation to the navy, the walls of the kingdome: English oake being then esteemed of as the best for a sea-fight, not being apt to cleave upon the receit of a shot, but rather boare: and of these millions were felled and sold at vile prizes, not only during the life of the Earle of Salisbury, but all the raigne of King James.

30. Now, though there did no degrees of comparison appeare in the wills of those northern adjectives, not able to subsist without England, who, like their ancestors, did exchange a wildernesse for a Canaan; yet much more mischiefe resided in the power of some then others; amongst whom, now

fresh in my memory, are the Lords Roxborrow,[1] Fenton,[2] Carlile,[3] and Dunbar,[4] that during the reigne of this king lay sucking at the brests of the state, nor were some of them weaned long after his death; the last of which, swallowed at one gulp, together with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, all the standing wardrobe, wherein were more jewels, pearle, rich robes, and princely apparell, then ever any king of Scotland (if all of them put together) could

[1] Sir Robert Kerr, Earl of Roxburgh, &c. was a favourite of King James, from whom he had many valuable grants. He was the last male heir of the ancient family of Cessford.

[2] Not Sir Geoffrey Fenton, privy-counsellor to Elizabeth and James, who was a native of Nottinghamshire, but Thomas Erskine, created Viscount Fenton in 1606, and afterwards Earl of Kelly.

[3] James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, afterwards mentioned with yet greater severity, both by Osborne and Peyton.

[4] Sir George Home, a younger son of the family of Manderston, raised by James VI. to the dignity of Earl of Dunbar, which his talents and abilities very well deserved. He was long James's Scottish minister, and certainly the most able whom he ever employed in that capacity after his English accession.

call his owne before; all which I have since heard rated by the officers at an incredible summe, whose servants did use to shew them for mony, it appearing none of the least rarities in London before this great dissolution. And for James Hayes, after Earle of Carlile, though of no more noble extraction then the immediate son of a Scotch merchant, an appellation some under a stall would scorne to patronize, it is knowne he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a wainscot carcasse, then any of his masters ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole families. Nor was the honour of Anthill a small present made at one time to the Earle of Kelly,[1] especially by a prince

[1] Sir Thomas Erskine, who distinguished himself by assisting the king in the conspiracy of Gowrie, when he killed Alexander Ruthven with his own hand. He was, as already mentioned, created first Viscount Fenton, and secondly, in 1619, Earl of Kelly. When James removed Sir Walter Raleigh from being Captain of the Guard, this nobleman received the appointment, which probably did not add to his popularity in England. He died in 1639.

that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a nation, of whose ruine he became the first and principall instrument. Yet as if these ancient standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of England, this ungratefull prince, (if I may call him so that cannot in justice deserve, from one borne under Queene Elizabeth, a better title,) to make our miseries hereditary, called up Robert Carre from a poore page, and, to the dishonour of our antient nobility, raised him to as high a title, and as great an estate (three hundred thousand pounds being rated to the crowne upon his fall,) as most earles of England: But there appeares so many leaves lying between his advancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King James studying only to keep things quiet during his owne time, without any other care of his posterity then what

related to the safety they brought to his person, and finding bishops the best church government yet discovered in the pursuance of monarchy, whereas a parity in ecclesiasticall affaires did portend a propensity to popularity in the state. He looked upon presbytery in his owne country with no lesse feare then disdaine: yet, believing it unpossible to un-hinge the nobility and gentry from the hold they had already taken on the clergy, in which lay the best claime they had to church lands, nor the priests from their patrons, to whom they were houshold chaplaines, or of so meane parts, as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any severer power then their owne; besides, the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, then far more with constraint; he indeavours to joyne both nations in a union;[1]

[1] This proposed measure, however objected to by the prejudices of Osborne, was one of the few marks of attention to public utility which dignified the reign of James. Commissioners were appointed for both na-

but, not willing to gratify the English so much as to make them participate of the Scottish immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoake, he intimates a parliament; and, before their assembling, indeavours to suborne, by large promises, all the popular and principall speakers; hoping, the vowels being at his devotion, to make the consonants comply with any voice

tions, who met at Westminster, for the purpose of arranging the terms of a national union. But the Scots were tenacious of their municipal law and national independence, and refused to make any sacrifice of these to attain commercial advantages, little understood, and not in any degree prized, by a poor and martial nation. The English, on the other hand, proposed an uniformity of laws as the basis of the union; "and when the Scottish commissioners rejected an ignominious servitude to the laws of England, they refused, on other terms, to communicate their rights to aliens, recently their enemies, and still their rivals. In the next century posterity discovered, nor was experience necessary to prove, that, if the relative obligations to government are the same, uniformity of religion or municipal laws is not essential to an incorporating union."—"But the English commissioners were actuated obviously by a jealous alternative to reduce a rival state to subjection, or oppose an insurmountable objection to the union." —LAING's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 11.

in what sense he was pleased to put upon them, or loose themselves in significant clamours. The same project and indeavour, by corrupting members, was used about seaven yeares after in the parliament of undertakers, where certaine bills of grace (as they called them) were offered to the House of Commons by the Earle of Somerset. The first preposition, and that which came fullest up to the kings designe, was this; that, as both nations were under one prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to submit both to one law; without manifesting that partiall resolution he had, rather to remaine where he was, then suffer the English to share in the privileges of Scotland: Imagining it no hard matter, upon so imminent an advantage, to bring the lesse readily to submit to the greater, and that where the court did commonly reside: by which he had, with one bush, stopped two of the greatest gaps did then appeare open in his prerogative. But to this he received a like answer from his

country men, that in France, Spaine, and the Netherlands, many lawes and usances were proper to some provinces, cities, and towns, that did not extend to other parts, though in grosse under the same capitall power. Nor were the customes of Kent, Isles of Wight, Garnsy, and Jersy, &c. communicable with the rest of England, notwithstanding the contrary indeavours of many kings and queenes of the nation: wherefore his majesty might guesse at the difficulties of the attempt to perswade the subject out of those lawes from whence he received any personall benefit, by his owne and all princes else unwillingnesse to augment them. Nor could they for the present, without exposing his ancient and native country to a rupture, innovate any thing in church government; yet, upon the kings promise to the nobility and his future reall performance, they found a roome in their consciences for bishops. Though under this fatall prediction, grounded upon the incompliance of the episcopal clergy,

and their naturall propensity to delate their power, that it would ruine one if not both the nations, which our eyes have been so unhappy as to see accomplished; and through the selfe saine mediation, from which wisdome expected it should come many yeares before. Now, after the wily Scot had purged and discharged the union from any taste or colour of maligniţy towards their owne nation, they drove it on with the furiousnesse of Jehu: But the English parliament found members enough intire in the duty they owed to their country, so farre to out-vote those lamed in their integrity through the hope of preferment, as they appeared inconsiderable for power or good conduct in the eyes of their prince, and no lesse base and corrupt in those of the people; upon whose miscarriage all hope of good was retracted; James sharing so large a proportion in the folly of princes, that he never gratified the subject, but upon urgent necessity, or by way of barter; which made their representative

consider him at best but in the relation of a merchant, and themselves as countrymen brought up only to be cozen'd.

32. Yet the many no lesse bitter then rationall speeches made in the House of Commons against this conjunction, could not rebate the Scotish impudence, from indeavouring to bring in by the back, and formerly unknowne way of prerogative, that as the parliament, hitherto the sole guard of propriety, had refused all hope of entrance to, through any legall passage. And for the more effectuall promotion of this, the Earle of Dunbar, making use of the advantage his place offered him,[1] did sound the barons of the Exchequer, and though Altam and his brother afforded him small incouragement, Tanfield and Snig, the first no lesse famed for corruption, then the other for ignorance, gave him the assurance of their compliance in judgment: with whom Cook was reported to concurre; though

[1] The Earl of Dunbar was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

a knowne antagonist to the chiefe Baron Tanfield, in most things else, wherein any difficulty did seeme to appeare: But though two of these had gained the height of opinion for law in those times, Cook was thought over full of levity, and both of them too low situated in honour and grace with the nobility, to drive on so weighty and ungratefull a designe, with any hope of better successe then contempt or a present confutation: wherefore, the Chancellor Egerton was prevailed upon so farre, partly out of hope, but chiefly for feare, lest the king (as after he did) should send him a writ of ease, growne now old, or by calling his corruption into question, discharge him of his imployment, did undertake, in the Starchamber, to prove, in a long speech, that all the Scots, borne since his majesties possession of the crowne of England, were legally free denizons of this nation: James refusing to include those formerly in being, lest he should in his own time have tasted the bitter consequence of so unjust an in-

trusion upon the liberty of that people, which had without any disturbance suffered him to enter. And this argument rendered the chancellor seaven times more the object of reproach then he was before. The speech being thought by the English above the desert of the cause, as too elaborate, considering the prejudice it brought, and by the Scots below it; many of his owne profession arraigning it of ignorance and mistakes: But the commons looked upon him as the owner, not only of a brazen impudence in daring to oppose his single opinion to a whole parliament, but were ready to hisse at the invalidity of his assertions; protesting them as much against law (in which, having no skill, I shall not meddle) as reason, conscience, and the generall proceedings of the world, both antient and moderne.[1]

[1] Although the proposals for an union miscarried in parliament, the judges were prevailed upon, in the great case of the *Postnati*, to declare, that those Scots who were born since the death of Elizabeth, and who con-

33. The promoters of the union in the House of Commons, no lesse than the chancellor in the House of Lords, did, besides many rebukes and scoffes, meet with some such answers as these. That since no lord of a rich mannor would accept the offer of one more poore, upon the conditions of enter-commoning, lest he should begger his best tenants, without making his worth considerable: so, &c.

That no people indu'd with the naturall desire of preservation, being happy at that instant, would admit the prince of a beggerly nation to raigne over them, how just so ever his claime was, for feare of loosing their propriety, as deare as life itselfe, and so as vigorously to be defended.

Some corporations explode for forrainers such as are not bred in the place; all those borne out of the nation. And if these last objections owned a countenance, sterne

sequently had always owed undivided allegiance to the English crown, were freely naturalized in either kingdom.

enough in the opinions of many to face the entrance of James himselfe, it cannot but raise a doubt how his admittance should make way for the whole nation to follow him.

He that considers the enmity that hath ever been between Scotland and England, with a propensity to drive on a feud through many generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling: There being some affinity in bloud, lawes, customes, and affection betwixt the Welch and us, none with, &c.

If the French, being in our possession, were allowed to export wool, cloth, &c. it was in lieu of wine and other commodities they brought us: But what have the Scots of their owne growth, but eggs, barnicles, and such drugs for the cure of the jaundies, as may be found under our hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore, since in all communities, a reciprocall contribution is required, and without which the body politique cannot flourish, what an ir-

reparable losse should we have sustained through such a conjunction?

The Romans had many rich cities, nations, and colonyes that were not sharers in the freedome of Rome, looked upon as a speciall favour, and only communicable at the benevolence of the senate; legible in their story, no lesse then the scripture, where, though Saint Paul was free borne, Claudius Lysias, the chiefe captaine, farre above him in dignity, was faine to obtaine it for a great summe.

Though Sicily, Naples, Millain, be within the title, no lesse then jurisdiction, of the most catholick king, yet these have no more power to trade in the Indies, then those unhappy people have to trafique in any part of Castile.

Nature hath taught every nation a particular ingenuity to provide for its owne necessities, which, upon the accesse of another, must be either exceeded, and so undone, or go beyond the new commer, and ruine him. Therefore, since we had no

want of inhabitants of our owne, such a beggerly addition must needs be destructive. The Scot, like the poore Swisse, (yet better provided for, and nearer the sun then he,) finds a more commodious abiding under every climate then at home: which, as it makes the Swisse to venture their lives in the quarrell of any prince for mony, so this northerne people are knowne to do, or turne pedlers, being become so cunning, through necessity, that they ruine all about them: manifest in Ireland, where they usually say, None of any other country can prosper that comes to live within the kenning of a Scot.

If our Saviour Christ, the king of kings, whose treasure can never be exhausted, said, though in another dialect, It is not meet, that is, not just nor expedient, to give the childrens bread to, &c., can any think it prudent or legall to share the fruits of England with the sonnes of the locusts and daughters of the horsleach?

To conclude, reason would faine be sa-

tisfied from those that maintaine the legality of the union, whether, if Queen Elizabeth had married the Duke of Muscovy, as he did by his embassadors desire it, that whole nation (though farre above Scotland in value) should have had a naturall denization in England.

34. At this time the honour of knighthood, which antiquity reserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewell to present vertue with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeomandry, (made addle through pride and a contempt of their ancestors pedigree,) that had but a court-friend, or mony to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outward roome, when the king, the fountaine of honour, came downe, and was uninterrupted by other businesse: In which case, it was then usuall for him to grant a commission for the chamberlaine, or some other lord, to do it: But experience soone informed the empty Scot, that as this airy treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turn-

ed to great profit, seeing the shoales of base and ignorant trouts that gaped after it, (the cause, accesse to the king was made more daily difficult,) by this rendering the temple of honour a common theater, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their mony.[1]

[1] The prodigality of Charles in conferring the honour of knighthood was equal to that of his father. The following satires upon a general creation at the Isle of Wight are of Scottish extraction, and have never been printed:

Fortie knights moe then ane hunder
Dub'd in one day,— O thats a wonder!
Thanks to our sacred soveraigne Charles,
They now be knights were latly carles.
The baronets they have ther red seale;
But these have neither stamp nor beale,
To knowe them one by one afarre:
We'll mark them with a licke of tarre,
That when they walk, or when they sleepe,
They may be known for knighted sheepe.
Let skin and birne, when they are gone,
Like Jasons fliece, hing on the throne;
Ane pretty embleme to sette forth,
That riches was preferd to worth.
King Ceres sent vs word, which we forbeare,
To transport cornes out of our cost this yeare:
Autumne was so unseasonable, we had nought to spare:
Yes, we may barter knights for forraine ware.
The lyon cryes, Chival-avance!
The sword of justice gives a glance.
Oh! strange and admirable force!
Numbers of asses starts up horse.

35. Now this shower of dignities falling upon all, without any more serious consideration then favour or profit, whole houses were ruined: For antient gentlemen, finding themselves preceded by baser families; only for having the impudence or luck to be dub'd before them, and being despised, or spurred on through their wives ambition or their own shame, fell into that trap, gilded with the title of *baronnet*, for which they were to pay a thousand pounds, as is ex-

Vpon the Knights of the Isle of Wight.

Welcome, Sir James! Welcome, Sir John!
Ye worshipfull, welcome one by one.
Ye are the first fruits of this springe;
Ane frost slaine knight's a fecklesse thinge.
Come ye from Jerusalem, or the Rhodes?
Or come ye from the Antipodes?
Have ye cleared the way to Joppa,
That pilgrims heerafter may trotta?
Since ye came from the Isle of Wight,
The place bespeaks yow men of might:
Yet in your face there is no scarres,
Nor badge of honors in the wars.
Yet ye may say ye'll fight as fast
As others that were knighted last:
So, if wee raise ane army heer,
Our knights must take them to the reare,
Or stay at home, and keep the bairns
And ladyes from all forrain harms.

pressed in their patent: no slight caveat for the vanity of it, and how short lived that honour must needs be that was built upon no stronger basis then the mercenary consideration of such a summe; riches, for the most part, being the lot of covetous and dejected spirits. Besides, augmentation of titles puts a higher imposition upon all expenses; since he that before, being considered but as a gentleman, could compose his charge within such a precise rate, now double did not serve the turne: Men in honour, contrary to the elements of frugality, being not seldome compeld to proportion their layings out to their dignities, not their port to their ability: For wives, daughters, sonnes, and servants, cannot all, if any do, regulate their minds to the estate, but fix their eyes upon the glittering splendor of this new star of honour, and do by that steere their expense, till of a suddaine they fall into so deep an ocean of debt, as they are never able to preserve their ancient lands, but are forced to sell, dye in a pri-

son, or play at bo-peepe all the remainder of their daies with their creditors in London.

36. Baronies, earldoms, &c. were sold to the English that had wherewithall to buy them, in any of the three nations; but the Scots, the principall actors in this comedy of pride, were allowed a free entrance into the houses of dignity at their pleasure. And here may be observed upon what base and unequall termes the English were dealt withall, that had no place in the parliament of Scotland, though made barons there; yet such of that nation as owned the like titles here, were not only called by writ to the House of Lords, but sat in the Star-chamber; a court I do not remember to have seen any Scots appeare as criminalls, many as judges.

37. The palpable partiality that descended from the father to the Scots, did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry: whom they ingaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whe-

ther it ever lay in the power of any prince meerly humane, to bring so much felicity into a nation, as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James. For my owne particular, though I may concurre so farre with the generall voyce of the whole kingdome, as to allow him the highest epithets belonging to an active, generous, and noble cavalier, yet I want not cause in experience, by suspending my future judgment, to avoid their common mistake, who think all such virtues lost in the untried dead, as are found absent in him that had the luck to succeed: It being the usuall condition of these high planets, to conceale all malignity in their temper, till by the suns setting they become supreme themselves, and have the raines in their owne hands: For before they can never think they are secure, nor after apprehend a possibility of loosing their power. The cause many princes let their passions loose towards all excesse and impieties, when their country hath most use of their

temperance and moderation. I say not this out of any propensity to their opinions who are apt to prognosticate a future ill out of the present shew of goodnesse in men so highly bred, or to rob him of the happinesse to be allow'd virtuous, which descends to all from charity till the contrary appeares: But to justify the truth of story, where you may find as few abominable princes as tolerable kings.

The reason may be, an advantage they have to see what is disgusted in their father, which is avoyded for the present, more out of popularity then dislike: For though Absolon, to attaine his ends, might appeare a better justicer then David, it is great odds, but upon successe he had proved as tyrannicall as Solomon or Rehoboham. Besides the terrible condition a prince for the most part lives in, since an ordinary father punisheth that in his son with a gentle reproofe, which kings are often knowne to do by a mortall poyson. The truth is, Prince Henry never arrived at the great

test, supremacy in power, that leaves the will wholy to its own guidance, being not only set out of the reach of reproofe, but hears his actions approved by some, though in their true nature they appeare never so ugly.

38. The government of his house was with much discretion, modesty, sobriety, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbrayding the contrary proceedings of his fathers) in an high reverence to piety, not swearing himselfe, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the city; to whom he was not only plausible in his carriage, but just in payments: so farre as his credit out reached the kings both in the exchange and the church. In which the son could not take so much felicity, as the father did discontent, to find all the worth he imagined in himselfe, wholy lost in the hopes the people had of this young gentleman. From whence kings may be concluded farre more

unhappy then ordinary men: for though, whilest children are young, they may afford them safety, yet when arrived at that age, which useth to bring comfort to other parents, they produce only jealousies and feares: For if deformed, foolish or vicious, they offend the naturall disposition of a father, who cannot but desire his issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a prince: Because his raigne must needs be thought dimme and tedious who hath such a spark to succeed him as this Henry, which, in all mens judgments, appeared more illustrious then his old father. Thus are kings found as remote from felicity with children, as from safety without: And as the last of these considerations have tempted some to acknowledge the issue of strangers, and such as their wives have come to by chance, so the first hath provoked as many to make away their owne.

And, if common fame did not out-strip truth, King James was by feare led into

this extreme: finding his son Henry not only averse to any popish match, but saluted by the puritans as one prefigured in the Apocalypse, for Romes destruction. And to parallel this, one Ball, a taylor, was inspired with a like lunacy, though something more chargable; for not only he, but Ramsy, his majesties watch-maker, put out mony and clocks, to be paid (but with small advantage, considering the improbability) when King James should be crowned in the popes chaire.[1] Nor did Henry

[1] The custom of betting rose to great height in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James. Ben Jonson ridicules the romantic wagers which were then laid, by introducing Sir Puntarvolo, in Every Man out of his Humour, giving the odds upon the performance of a journey to Constantinople, by himself, his cat, and his dog. As for Ramsey, he appears, from the following curious transaction, recorded by Lilly the astrologer, to have been a very credulous person:

"Davy Ramsey, his majesty's clock-maker, had been informed, that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloysters of Westminster abbey; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then bishop of London; the dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that, if any was discovered,

carry his body so swimming, as the knowne depth of his fathers jealousies and shallow-

his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott,[1] who pretended the use of the Mosaical rods, to assist him herein: I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night, Davy Ramsey, with several gentlemen, myself, and Scott, entered the cloysters; we played the hazel-rod round about the cloyster; upon the west side of the cloysters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The labourers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open it, which we afterwards much repented. From the cloysters, we went into the abbey-church, where, upon a sudden, (there being no wind when we began,) so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did rise, that we verily believed the west-end of the church would have fallen upon us; our rods would not move at all; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly.[2] John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions and command to dismiss the dæmons, which, when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about twelve o'clock at night; I could never since be induced to join with any in such like actions.

"The true miscarriage of the business was by reason

[1] This Scott lived in Pudding-lane, and had some time been a page (or such like) to the Lord Norris.

[2] David Ramsey brought an half-quartern sack to put the treasure in.

nesse of his feares did require, contemning so farre at first his election of Sommerset, as he was reported either to have strook him on the back with his racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a prince should prove any thing, considering his education, much lesse a polititian? The last Earle of Essex being his play-fellow, and few gentlemen of worth his counsell, though many his attendants: It being in no case safe to advise a prince during the life of his father, nothing remaining in prudence possible to be said in relation to his safety, but must reflect upon the honour of the king, or the prudence of himselfe: The smallest intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly

of so many people being present at the operation; for there was above thirty, some laughing, others deriding us; so that if we had not dismissed the dæmons, I believe most part of the abbey-church had been blown down; secrecy and intelligent operators, with a strong confidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are best for this work."—LILLY'S *History of his own Life and Times*, p. 47,

conceale) within the compasse of treason. It is so common with report to rate the sicknesse or death of princes at the price of poyson, as I should quite have omitted this conjecture, or left it wholy to the decision of posterity; though I believe few kings are by their servants (whose eyes are more fixed upon hope, which relates to the future, then gratitude, by the generallity of courtiers declined, as not respecting the present time) so fairely delt withall at that article, in which meaner men receive indulgence from enemies; had I not heard by many, his father did dread him, and in particular from Mr Primrose, the princes foster-brother, of high esteeme with him; and that the king, though he would not deny any thing he plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of feare and outward compliance, then love or naturall affection; being harder drawne to confer an honour or pardon, in cases of desert, upon a retainer to the prince, then a stranger. From whence might be calculated a ma-

lignity conceived in his heart against the splendor of his sonnes retinue; manifested after his death by an injunction to Charles, Duke of York, and a command he gave to the Lord Chamberlaine of the kings house, not to suffer any to be inrolled his sonnes servants, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the reasonablenesse of their judgments, who did look upon Henry rather as a terrour then a comfort to the king, yet he did not take any visible notice of the great concourse about him, till by Archy, his jester, he was called to the observation of it on the plaines about New-market, when he and the prince parted: few being left with the father, and those meane persons, which drew teares from him, but the passion did not last long, nor he, when he had recollected himselfe, forbeare (which might have increased the suspition of the consequence) to reprove the fellow, who, being more Scot then foole, was able to mind one that filled a wiser roome, that it is the religion of some nations, but the cus-

tome of all, to adore the rising sun, and contemne him at his going downé. I confesse I did myself question Archy long after about it, but he talked, though in the affirmative, so loud and wildly, that I was affraid to waken the attentions of the standers by. This I have heard by divers, that he was after every night they could meet him tossed like à dog in a blancket. The prince died at Saint James's, having, all his sicknesse, no paine but in his head, being heart whole to the last. Sir Theodore Mayerne, a French physitian, and in great esteeme, would have had him let bloud, but the English did reject the counsell as too desperate, in respect of themselves, who might possibly offend no lesse by his recovery then death; ordinarily imputed to those physitians that meet with patients who do not recover after the opening a veyne. I remember Sir Walter Rawly, before his going to Guiana, (to whom Prince Henry was a great friend, and for whose satisfaction he penned his history, &c.) owned, though

not in full words at length, as much in substance as was then every where reported. But when I reach the misfortunes of Robert Carre, (if they may be called so, that at the worst exceeded the best his birth could promise,) I may have occasion to say more.

39. In the mean time, the reason King James was so poorely followed, especially in his journies, was his partiality used towards the Scots, which hung like horsleeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their owne country, or living at ease, leaving all chargeable attendance to the English. The harvest of the love and honour he reaped being sutable to the ill husbandry he used in the unadvised distribution of his favours: For of a number of empty vessels he filled to compleat the measure of our infelicity, few proved of use to him, unlesse such as, by reason of their vast runnings out, had daily need of a new supply: And amongst these the Earle of Carlile was one of the quorum, that brought in the vanity of ante-suppers,

not heard of in our forefathers time, and, for ought I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most luxurious tyrants. The manner of which was, to have the board covered, at the first entrance of the ghests, with dishes, as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choycest and dearest viands sea or land could afford: And all this once seen, and having feasted the eyes of the invited, was in a manner throwne away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the attendants of the king, that at a feast, made by this monster in excesse, eate to his single share a whole pye, reckoned to my lord at ten pounds, being composed of amber-greece, magisteriall of perle, musk, &c. yet was so far (as he told me) from being sweet in the morning, that he almost poysoned his whole family, flying himselfe like the satyr from his owne stinck. And after such suppers huge banquets no lesse profuse, a waiter returning

his servant home with a cloak-bag full of dried sweet-meats and confects, valued to his lordship at more then ten shillings the pound.[1] I am cloyd with the repetition of

[1] The expensive entertainments of Hay, Earl of Carlisle and Doncaster, are also mentioned by Sir Anthony Welldon, in the subsequent Memoirs, who tells us, that, upon one occasion, he brought fish from Russia, (sturgeon doubtless,) of such a size, that no dish in England was capable of holding them. But he speaks of the qualities of his body and mind with much more indulgence than Osborne. Lloyd also draws Hay's character with more favourable colours.

"He served his master in Scotland by his generosity, and in England with his hospitality; the decay whereof King James observed the defect of the English nobility; and the restauration of it, he designed the honour of the Scots gentry. Royal was his master's munificence towards him, noble his towards others; his majesty being not more intent upon his advancement for public service, than he was upon the advancement of others to his private assistance. His majesties gracious inclination being for a reign of peace, this servants estate was spent upon the arts of it, I mean upon feasts, masques, gay cloathes, and such other delicacies as might soften the harsher natures to quietness, that princes interest, who was first to understand, and then to manage the strength of this nation. Although he failed in most of his negotiations, because he carried his money on his back, rather than in his purse; rather to spend than to bestow; and amaze fo-

this excesse, no lesse then scandalized at the continuance of it. For when the most able physitians and his owne weaknesse had passed a judgment, he could not live many daies, he did not forbeare his entertainements, but made divers brave cloathes, as he said, to out-face naked and despicable death withall: blaspheming God so far in the person of his handmaid nature, as to say she wanted wisdome, love, or power, in making man mortall and subject to diseases: Forgetting, that if every individuall

reigners rather than oblige them: yet was his embassy more suitable to the French vanity, than either the Dutch thryft or the German plainness; and his carriage more answerable to a gaudy treaty of marriage, then to a close agency for interest, or the intricate consultations of war. So great was the report of his hospitality, that an host of Delph demanded sixty pounds for providing him a supper, though he never came that way; yet so displeasing to the Prince of Orange, that when his steward asked what he should provide for the great embassador's entertainment? the prince looks on his bill of fare, and whereas there was but one pig, he bid them write two; tartly reflecting as well on my lord's nation as his magnificence."—LLOYD'S *State Worthies*, p. 775.

his owne lust had been able to have produced, should have prosecuted an equall excesse with his, they would, in a far lesse time than an age, have brought themselves or the world into the same disease he died of, which was a consumption. He lay alwaies under the comfortable aspect of King James his favour, though I never found him in his bosome, a place reserved for younger men and of more indeering countenances: And these went under the appellation of his favourites or minions, who, like burning-glasses, were daily interposed between him and the subject, multiplying the heat of oppressions in the generall opinion, though in his own he thought they screened them from reflecting upon the crowne: Through the fallacy of which maxime his son came to be ruined; it being unlikely any prince should abate in the account of his people, that hath no bodies expenses or faults to reckon for but his own. Now, as no other reason appeared in favour of their choyce but handsomnesse, so the love the king

shewed was as amorously convayed, as if he had mistaken their sex; and thought them ladies; which I have seene Sommerset and Buckingham labour to resemble, in the effeminatenesse of their dressings; though in w—— lookes and wanton gestures, they exceeded any part of woman kind my conversation did ever cope withall. Nor was his love, or what else posterity will please to call it, (who must be the judges of all that history shall informe,) carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a lesse scandalous behaviour; for the kings kissing them after so lascivious a mode in publick, and upon the theatre, as it were, of the world, prompted many to imagine some things done in the tyring-house, that exceed my expressions no lesse then they do my experience: And therefore left floting upon the waves of conjecture, which hath in my hearing tossed them from one side to another.

40. I have heard that Sir Henry Rich, since Earle of Holland, and some others,

refused his majesties favour upon those conditions they subscribed to, who filled that place in his affection: Rich loosing that opportunity his curious face and complection afforded him, by turning aside and spitting after the king had slabered his mouth: who, though numbered amongst the gods upon earth, yet any that will be so inquisitive as to rake in his dust may find as many frailties as ever man stood charged with, of which this was none of the lightest, doubling the weight of his oppression: For the setting up of these golden calves cost England more then Queene Elizabeth spent in all her wars.

41. Amongst a number of other novelties, he brought a new holy-day into the church of England, wherein God had publick thanks given him for his majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Goury:[1]

[1] For some particulars respecting the conspiracy of Gowrie, see the subsequent tracts. The object of the plot against James must remain a mystery; but its reality is now unanimously admitted by historians; nor indeed is a contrary supposition consistent with James's

and this fell out upon the fift of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the quire of Pauls church, or the Long Walk: For no Scotch man you could meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetique polititians said the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit. But I will not wade farther in this businesse, not knowing how dangerous the bottome may prove, being by all mens relations foule and bloudy: having nothing to palliate it but jealousy on the one side, and fear on the other; too weak supporters to keep upright so great a ——, especially so far as to ruine a whole and noble family, for a fault knowne to be committed without the least question. Now, if any thing

character. For if his good-nature, which was considerable, had not prevented his laying a scheme to assassinate the two brothers in their own castle, his cowardice, which was excessive, would certainly have prevented his being present in persoh at an enterprise of such dubious issue. Osborne seems to impute the death of Gowrie to the king's jealousy; and the opinion of an intrigue between Queen Anne and the earl's brother was assumed by the learned Pinkerton as the ground of the conspiracy; but is attended with great difficulty.

farther deserves consideration, it is the misfortune of kings, who once lapsed into a publick errour, cannot recall it, though the continuance of it reflect dishonour to God; not unpossibly the cause this held out all his raigne. Nor did any credit his son gave it justify it farther then ordinary report, which, in the generality, took it for a meer figment of state, and was buried with its author.

42. Nor will the story of the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst[1] fall in unproperly here, who, being a very corrupt man, or much abused, did lay claime to some part of the Kentish Lucy's land that lay contiguous to his owne, and, mistrusting the integrity of any other or more legall triall, did, by the

[1] Thomas Sackville, created Lord Buckhurst by Queen Elizabeth, was a beautiful poet, and an able statesman. While Lord High Treasurer, he kept house with such hospitality, that he had never less than two hundred in family. To the admirers of poetry, he is known by his share in the Mirror for Magistrates, and to the historian, as the partner of Lord Burleigh's most secret counsels. It is certain he died suddenly at the council table, 19th April, 1608. His death was by some untowardly interpreted, but was in reality owing to the breaking of a vessel in his head.

highnesse of his hand, bring it to the counsell table, (where about this time many causes were shamefully carried, and from whence the most excellent chancellor for parts that ever sat in that court might derive the most capitall of his faults;) and, after some debate, the treasurer standing up, and offering to pull out of his bosome papers that were pretended for their lordships full and finall satisfaction, he fell down dead, as called to answer at a higher tribunall. Neither hath any since, as I have been told by some of the family, ever questioned Lucy's land, in the quiet possession of which he was thus miraculously estated. Some yeares after, meeting with the secretary of Richard, Earle of Dorset, (a noble gentleman, and of good parts, had they not been poisoned, together with the owner, by a future malice and jealousy in the Duke of Buckingham that he was his enemy) he told me the treasurer was subject to swounding, which happening in a place where there was so litle help; it became his death. He

was much given to women and corruption, in the generall opinion; after whom these verses were sent, it being the fashion of the poets all my daies, to summe up great mens virtues or vices upon their graves: These, with many more to a like sense, belonging to this man:

Discourteous death, that would's not once conferre,
Or daigne to parly with our treasurer:
Had he been thee, or of thy fatall tribe,
He would have spar'd a life to gain a bribe.

ANOTHER.

Here lies a lord, that wenching thought no sinne,
And bought his flesh by selling of our skinne:
His name was Sackvile, and so voyd of pitty,
As he did rob the country with the city.

43. The match James made between Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, and the Elector of Rheine, contrary to the graine of the catholick church, and the desires of her mother, who looked upon it so much below her, as she could not refraine to call her Goodwife Palsgrave before she had put off her wedding shooes, bred, at a dis-

tance, such a hope in the Hugonotes that remained yet under persecution or restraint, and pride in those already emancipated through their governours licorishnesse after the choyce morsells of the church, and their owne desire to change their manner of service, (growen foule in their opinions, an unavoydable result of time, especially if prompted by more learning then discretion,) that they feasted their imaginations with all the miraculous felicities and deliverances, by the divers into the deep mysteries of Daniel, and the Revelation, supposed to be reserved in the bottome of all things: The fall of the pope, and those principallities adhering to him, appearing as manifestly painted in their oylie fancies, as the curious may find them in Hugh Broughton, or the frontispieces of divers books the zele of some, and licentiousnesse of others, did then make publick: which strook a damp in the German Cæsars affaires, causing the exchange to go high in the diets, so as upon the demandes of con-

tribution, though against the Turk, a greater liberty of conscience was propounded by the followers of Luther and Calvine, and some suspition of change feared from those not yet revolted. But how ever this might work to the disadvantage of our kings judgment abroad, (who was thought to do it, to render himselfe the umpire of all Christian differences, which he much delighted in, no lesse then a confidence he had to bring all to one conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of, &c.) it setled it much in the opinion of his subjects, who, in the House of Commons, did upon all occasions testify their complyance to this conjunction. Now, whether it was hope or feare, according to the opinion of the catholicks and polititians, or a supine carelessenesse and desire to be rid of her with the least expense, as all the ladies friends suggested, or pure zeale to religion, as some simple people thought, or, what was most probable, a composition of all the three first-mentioned passions, induced the king

to submit to such meane conditions, I leave to the reader to judge: And only observe that, though in relation to person and virtue, she might deservedly hold a roome in the greatest princes bed in Europe, yet God hath not hitherto been pleased to afford her any outward blessing, but a multitude of children, of which the eldest was unfortunately drowned,[1] not without some reproach to the father, and diminution of the rest in the opinion of the people, that do, though not seldome without cause, overvalue any thing irrecoverably lost; and now at last hath cast her into an ocean of calamities, in which she still remaines a floting example to other princes of the instability of fortune, as she did in her prosperity for civility and goodnesse. And though none need seek far for reasons why judgments should fall upon the children of princes,

[1] In returning from Amsterdam over Haerlaem Mere. The palatine, his father, was blamed, because he chose, from economy, the common and over-loaded packet-boat as the means of conveyance.

yet her behaviour hath been throughout so blamelesse, as, amongst the worst reports the papists could raise, nothing appears might prove her so great an actor in ill, as she is found a patient in misery: which makes me in charity think it rather came by descent then purchase; unlesse God hath done it, that his power may hereafter be showne in raising her to a higher dignity then she hath already fallen from. And for her husband, he lies under the condition of other men, who have their apparent misfortunes imputed to hidden and inward defects.

44. It was the opinion of those times, that the elector might have sped better had he not matched with England, whose king was so timorous, as he suffered all to perish for want of a seasonable supply that relied upon his power: For had his consort been of a weaker alliance, he had refused the crown of Bohemia when it was offered, or, upon acceptance, been more cordially assisted by his follow princes, already wearied with the emperours oppressions, no lesse then terri-

fied by an expectation of worse: It being repugnant to the mode of a Spanish pride to rest within the compasse of any other moderation then what is prescribed to him by the pillars of force, and whereon he findes the inscription of an apparent necessity, or the apparition of a future benefit. But assistance composed of so many pieces is seldome successfull, and often dangerous to such as relye upon them: of which Charles the Fifth left a precedent at their own dores, in the person of the Duke of Saxony, and the Landsgraye van Hesse, who, by enterfering in their counsells, tripped up the heels of themselves, and a greater army then Mauritius, son-in-law to the Landsgrave, commanded alone, when he made the same victorious emperour, who had, together with that title, inclusive in his person, the kingdome of Spaine, crawle over the Alpes by torch light, and after hide his head in a monastery. Yet, besides their own neglect, and the great confidence they had in King James, (whom they look-

ed upon as ingaged by honour and nature in the German quarrells, at least so far as the value of the crowne of Bohemia extended,) they were not to seek of a suspition, that, in case the elector should attaine the emperiall diadem (not possibly to have been denied him upon successe) with his owne force, and the assistance of Britanny, he might not only have imposed upon the Lutherans consciences, (some what of a contrary creed to his,) but have left them no sense of ease in the change. Nor was the Lady Elizabeth yet so far removed from a possibility of attaining one day the crowne of England, her brother being not only single, but lying, in the opinions of many, under an aversion to marriage, as might insure suspition, which can never apprehend power at distance enough from those they think may imploy it to the prejudice of their liberty who have formerly laine under the weight of bondage. Some parasites cried it up to the height of a propheticall wisdome in K. James, that he would

not suffer his son to be prayed for in our churches by the title of King of Bohemia; but clearer judgments saw it no hard matter to determine of his fortune, whose good or bad successe lay wholy in his hands.

45. I have had the most, if not all may be found here, out of letters, which I ever looked upon as the best and purest intelligence, in one of which I had this inserted, that Prince Henry gave the first incouragement to the Prince Elector to attempt his sister, desiring more to head an army in Germany then he durst make show of, and would no doubt have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his servants are yet in being to witnesse, together with the love he seemed to beare his sister[1] before his brother; whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him he should be a bishop, a gowne being the fittest to hide his leggs, subject

[1] This is confirmed by all authors who give any account of this hopeful young prince, who was deservedly styled *England's Darling*.

in his childhood to be crooked.[1] Nor did all this put together lengthen his life in the desires of many. Besides I have been told, that Sir Walter Rawly did mediate his favour by a discourse he sent him, proving no warre could be so necessary or advantagious for England as one with Spaine; alledging for it many reasons and examples, as well out of the practice of the late queene, as his owne experience: no prince else being able to pay for or bear the expense of a royall navy, which once in a year he would without question accomplish by our intercepting some or most part of the Plate Fleet, all nations besides being but sea pedlers. Wherefore, if Philip the Second cut off his owne hopefull and only son Charles, for but pittying the people of Flanders, it can be no wonder he should promote the destruction of a stranger that did so far ap-

[1] Charles the First, when a child, was ricketty, and had crooked legs, which his father proposed to remedy by putting him into iron boots; from which violent cure he was with difficulty dissuaded by the prince's nurse. —See CAREY'S *Memoirs*. Edit. 1808, p. 141.

plaud the advice of Rawly, as to say, No king but his father would keep such a bird in a cage. But to leave this to the faith of posterity, that shall have not only the opportunity to see, but the liberty to judge of the most probability in every relation; the actions of kings being written in such dark characters, and relating to so many severall ends, as they are not easily deciphered; I shall returne to the German affaires, towards which, had England contributed proportionable to the head of an union, it may be presumed, from the king of Swedens successe, who had at the beginning no such advantages to rely on, that the eclipsing, if not the ruine of the house of Austria had not been adjourned to so long a day. And he that shall turne over the adviso's of those times, may without any danger or much trouble, find what opinion the Germans had of us, and in how great a disaray it cast their proceedings, when the smalnesse of the Lord Vere's forces were knowne; but when they read

a commission only inabling him to do nothing, they apprehended themselves, some out of malice betraid, others that knew the temper of King James better, were so charitable as to impute it to the true cause, which was his feare, upon whose altar he was not only ready to sacrifice his present honour and future safety, but the bloud of those he stiles, in all his manifesto's, his dearest children.

46. For after his daughter and the elector were crowned king and queene of Bohemia, they lost together with this shadow all her substance, and what he was for so many descents born to, the pallatinate, at the battaile of Prague, where few blowes were dealt on the electors side; reported to be so mad as to think the souldier would venture his life in a cause where he whom it most concerned was affraid to hazard his mony: It being then too late to spare, when honour and fortune lye at the stake.[1]

[1] The sordid meanness of the palatine's temper was supposed to have cost him the life of his eldest son Frederick. For, as they returned from Amsterdam,

By which this miserable prince did not only loose what he might possibly have gained, but most of the wealth he desired to save: no passions being observed so incompatible with successe, as when ambition, like that of Galba's, is found in a covetous nature; by which the souldier is not seldome tempted out of disdaine to quit his owne post, and adhere to a party he never did, till the discovery of this base humour, affect so well as that he deserts. Nor is it likely any should prosper (especially in a field expedition) against the house of Austria, that is not as prodigall of gold as bloud: it having been the late practice of this wise nation to obtain victory through the mediation of mony and policy, rather then strength, leaving nothing to fortune

which the palatine had visited, in order to look after some hoards in the bank of that city, having chosen for frugality the common packet-boat, overloaded with merchandize, the vessel was overset. The young prince clung to the rigging, but being unable to endure the rigour of the cold, was found the next morning frozen to death, and half immersed in water. See a preceding note.

but what she must needs: which may support the validity of their opinions that think the Spaniard least impregnable at sea, where he hath neither time or opportunity to corrupt, &c.

47. Sir Richard Weston, since treasurer and Earle of Portland,[1] was, when they looked for an army, sent to mediate a peace: By whose help, according to report, the elector and his lady found meanes, though with much difficulty, to escape to the Hague with their new assumed empty titles, having nothing else to support them

[1] Sir Richard Weston, created successively Baron, Earl of Portland, and Knight of the Garter, was sent ambassador to the Arch Dukes Albert and Isabella, and to the diet of the empire, to treat about the restitution of the palatinate, in which he had the usual fate of James's envoys, being totally unsuccessful, because no one believed his master serious in his threats of war, and every body lent a civil but indifferent ear to the logical arguments which he drew forth instead of troops and artillery. Weston was supposed to be a catholic, although he outwardly conformed to the church of England. He became Lord High Treasurer a few months before Buckingham's death, but rather lost than gained reputation by this advancement.

but patience and hope, the only and ordinary comfort of those deprived of all help besides. Yet I have heard from many, (for I delight to set down every probable relation,) that they thought Weston too farre ingaged to the catholicks to be author of so ungratefull a service. But this being his first imployment, no lesse then a desire in the pope to see the power of the emperour moderated, who began to incroach upon the pretended immunities of the church, he might not improbably take this advantage to render his embassy the more acceptable upon his returne to the people of England, if not to the king: Persons of their quality falling seldome under the sword, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintaine them at liberty, then in restraint, or redeeme them at such a ransome as a victorious prince might impose, to the payment of which his master was ingaged in honour and nature.

48. However, I am more charitable then to conclude all papists imployd by this

king, so dishonest as to falsify their trust: for if that followed as a necessary consequence, God help this poore nation, that had before then, and long after, few commissioned in any affaire of importance, but such as were that way affected or wholy indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to use his help, it may be, as he did of Pharo's daughter, to preserve this virtuous lady out of danger, whose misfortunes have kindled such a fire in Germany, as not unpossibly, before it be extinguished, may lick up the choycest bloud in the Austrian family: Of which this seemes to me as a signe, that, ever since they began, some one or other hath prosecuted the like attempt; amongst whom was Count Mansfield,[a] that

[a] Ernest, Count of Mansfeldt, one of the best generals of his time, after having spent some years in the imperial service, embraced the reformed religion, and engaged himself in the protestant league about 1610. After the unfortunate battle of Prague, he continued by his conduct and reputation, although almost destitute of resources, to maintain a desultory war in behalf of the palatine, until, in 1626, he was totally defeated by the

had little else but his owne fortune and valour to carry him so far as he went. But, what he punctually did, or promised to do, was at too great a distance for me to perceive, more then I could learne from the eccho it made at court, which sounded diversly, according to the inclinations and hollownesse of their hearts, that made the reverberation. This I can attest upon knowledge, that Mansfield was, in appearance, well received here: But whether King James could like a man that laboured to bring in so anti-monarchicall a precedent, as to strugle for liberty with his native prince, I cannot but question; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his divines, and by the terrour of the law, that no other refuge was

celebrated Wallenstein. So active was this adventurous general in raising troops, making forced marches, enduring, and teaching his followers to endure every hardship, that, with some encouragement from the king of England, it is difficult to say what turn his arms might have given to the affairs of the palatinate.

left in any saving experiment, during the unjustest and most cruell tyranny, but prayers and teares; a tenent, if he had believed himselfe, or thought such as owned either prudence or power did, he would doubtlesse have governed much better, or abused the nation and debauched his succession much worse. Yet to give a countenance to a businesse he had so shamefully disparaged before, he sent for the count over in one of his ships royall, which was cast away upon the English coast, an example as remote from a precedent, as for a mighty prince to be a quiet spectator of the ruine of his family.

Such as were of the Spanish faction spake most disgracefully of Count Mansfield: forgetting the lower footing they assigned for his rise, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himselfe so high; who, at his going from hence, was furnished with men and mony, the most of them lost before their landing: such pro-

ceedings being much in use with King James, who, like a ready horse, did often seeme to the world as if he meant to runne, yet did little more in effect then stand still. But here my pen is stopped through indisposition; wherefore I must conclude this under the notion at least of a first part.

THE

COURT AND CHARACTER

OF

KING JAMES.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

THE

COURT OF KING CHARLES:

CONTINUED

UNTO THE BEGINNING OF THESE UNHAPPY TIMES,

WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON HIM

INSTEAD OF A CHARACTER.

COLLECTED AND PERFECTED BY SIR A. W.

Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

PRINTED AT LONDON BY R. J. AND ARE TO BE SOLD
BY J. COLLINS, IN LITTLE BRITTAINE,
1651.

INTRODUCTION.

OF Sir Anthony Welldon, the author of the following treatise, we know but little; and that little having been chiefly preserved by the industrious malice of those who wrote against him, is not entitled to unlimited credit. His native country was Kent, and his father was clerk of the kitchen, or held some such office in the household of Queen Elizabeth. Sir Anthony Welldon himself was preferred to be one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. In this capacity, he attended James I. upon his visit to his ancient and original kingdom. But the fare of Scotland, even when amended for the presence of her native monarch, was but indifferently suited to the hereditary taste of Sir Anthony Welldon, educated, as it were, among the

flesh-pots of the English court; and he gave vent to his contempt in a libel, in which the pride, poverty, and puritanism, but especially the bad cheer of Scotland, were ridiculed without mercy. This piece, which we have preserved in the beginning of volume second, he inadvertently wrapped up in a record of the Board of Green Cloth; which circumstance, together with the hand-writing, having ascertained the author, he was dismissed from his office; a severe punishment for writing a *jeu d' esprit*, which it does not appear he had any intention to make public. His dismissal, according to Wood, was mitigated by a present in money, and a pension. After the civil war broke out, Sir Anthony Welldon sided with the parliament, and was chairman of the Kentish committee for the sequestration of royalists. The time of his death is uncertain.

It is said, that after Welldon had composed the following treatise, he shewed it to a friend, who advised him not to publish it. It is inscribed to Lady Elizabeth Sidley, of Southfleet, daughter and heiress of the celebrated and learned Sir Henry Saville, and mother of Sir Charles Sedley, the dramatic poet. From

the dedication, it appears not to have been the author's intention to make his reminiscences public. But after his death, the manuscript was, according to Sanderson the historian, stolen out of Lady Sidley's possession, and surreptitiously published. The second edition appeared in 1651, and has been used for this work. It is augmented with, I. "The Court of King Charles, continued unto the Beginning of these Unhappy Times," &c.; II. "Observations instead of a Character upon the King from his Childhood;" III. "Certain Observations before Queen Elizabeth's Death."

Although the anecdotes given in the following work cannot entirely be depended upon, yet posterity must consider them as written with a more impartial spirit than was admitted by the ardent loyalists of Welldon's own time. They are in part answered by the author of a subsequent tract, *Aulicus Coquinariæ;* but he leaves enough unconfuted to give Welldon's work considerable value, as a picture, though not an accurate one, of King James's court and character.

TO

MY MOST HONOURED AND TRULY NOBLE LADY,

THE

LADY ELIZABETH SIDLEY,

OF SOUTHFLEET.

MADAM,

I here present you with an epitome of some secret passages, in the whole reign of one king, part of anothers: Of which, myself have been either an eare or eye witnesse, or from the testimony of such as have been authors or actors, therefore unquestionable truths.

It is the conception and birth of four daies, with the help of some scattered papers, (as a midwife,) to bring them into the world.

Being, therefore, but an embryon, you cannot expect any perfect shape: But what it wants in that, you shall find in the most perfect form of undeniable truths.

The honourable esteem I have ever had of you and your brave parts, is my first motive of presenting it to your view: That it comes from no ordinary author, (this being the first, and for for ought I know, the last,) a second: That it was written in a melancholly humour, therefore fittest for your melancholly temper, the last.

I dare no more trust any other hand to write this than (willingly) any but yourselfe, or some such good friends, to read it.

Which is the reason it appears no fairer to your view. And it treads too near the heels of truth, and these times, to appear in publick.

If you shall please to accept of it, as worthy to cast a glance upon at your idle or melancholly hours, I have my full desires. If cast from you it hath just deserts.

Mine ambition only is, that so noble a lady shall be the godmother of the first and only heir that ever shall come of this quality, from

Your ladyships most humble servant,

A. W.

Upon the Authors Discourse and Observations concerning the whole Reigne of King James, and part of King Charles.

Reader, here view a picture of our times
Drawn to the life; the foulest secret crimes
Discover'd, with their authors: Tricks of state,
To create guilty soules, the peoples hate,
The princes feares: favourites rise and fall;
Greatnesse debauched, gentry slighted all,
To please those favourites, whose highest ends
Were to exhaust the state, to please their friends.
View the Isles first monarch dead, the second's breath,
Prerogatives sole life, the kingdomes death.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

AMONGST the many remarkable passages in this short relation, the reader may take notice chiefly of five things here discovered:

First, How Almighty God was mockt, and the world abused, by the Tuesday sermons at court, and the anniversary festivals upon the fifth of August, in commemoration of King James' deliverance from the Gowries conspiracy; whereas, indeed, there

was no such matter, but a meere feigned thing, as appears by the story.

Secondly, How this kingdome was gulled in the supposed treason of Sir Walter Rawley and others, who suffered as traytors, whereas, to this day, it could never be known that ever there was any such treason; but a meer trick of state to remove some blocks out of the way.

Thirdly, The fearful imprecation made by King James against himself and his posterity, in the presence of many of his servants, and the judges, even upon his knees, if he should spare any that were found guilty in the poysoning business of Sir Tho. Overbury; but how he failed, this story will tell you; and how the justice of God hath been; and is upon himself and posterity, his owne death, by poyson, and the sufferings of his posterity, doe sufficiently manifest.

Fourthly, The untimely death of that hopefull Prince Henry is here partly discovered; if the reader cannot, in this dis-

course, spell by what hand hee was taken away; yet may he observe a strange connivance at, and contentednesse with the thing done.

Fifthly, Here we may see what a slave King James was to his favourites; this appears by many passages of this story, but especially by his passion at Greenwich, when the lieutenant of the Tower told him of Somersets threatning speeches, and by his agony, till he heard that Somerset tooke his arraignement patiently, and had told no tales.[1]

[1] Of these five propositions, the first and fourth are false, the second dubious, the third and fifth partly true, partly exaggerated. The preface is not by Sir Anthony Welldon, but by the publisher.

THE

COURT OF KING JAMES;

OR,

A GENERAL DISCOURSE

OF

SOME SECRET PASSAGES IN STATE,

SINCE THE DEATH OF THAT EVER GLORIOUS QUEEN ELIZABETH, UNTIL THIS PRESENT.

BY THE AUTHORS OWN OBSERVATION, WHO WAS EITHER EYE OR EAR WITNESS, OR FROM SUCH AS WERE ACTORS IN THEM, FROM THEIR OWN RELATION.

UPON the twenty-fourth of March, 1602, did set the most glorious sun that ever shined in our firmament of England, (the never to be forgotten Queen Elizabeth, of happy memory,) about three in the morning, at her mannour of Richmond, not only to the

Q. E. death.

P. 2.[1]

[1] The figures on the side mark the paging of the original edition, and are here retained for the facility of the references from Aulicus Coquinariæ.

unspeakable grief of her servants in particular, but of all her subjects in general.

And although many of her courtiers adored that rising sun, appearing in the north, yet since, not without regret of their monstrous ingratitude to her (that sun) now set, and in peace.

For no sooner was that sun set, but Sir Robert Carew,[1] (her near kinsman, and whose family and himself she had raised from the degree of a mean gentleman to high honour in title and place,) most ingratefully did catch at her last breath, to carry it to the rising sun, then in Scotland, notwithstanding a strict charge laid to keep fast all the gates, yet (his father being Lord Chamberlaine) he by that means found favour to get out to carry the first news;[2]

[1] Sir Robert Cary, afterwards created Earl of Monmouth, tenth son of Henry Lord Hunsdon. His father was related to Queen Elizabeth by the mother's side. Cary wrote Memoirs of his own Life, which were published by the Earl of Corke and Orrery, and republished at Edinburgh in 1808.

[2] Cary escaped out of court by the interest of his

which, although it obtained for him the governourship of the Duke of York, yet hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him, that it will remain to posterity a greater blot, then the honour he obtained afterward will ever wipe out.[1]

About nine in the morning of that day, was proclaimed King James, of blessed memory, by the title of *James the First;* and now nothing on all hands, but preparations for accommodating him in his journey for England, many posting into Scotland for preferment, either by indearing themselves by some merit of their own to the king, or by purchasing friends with

K. James proclaimed king.

brother Sir George, the gates having been shut by order of the privy-council. He reached Edinburgh in three days, notwithstanding a severe fall by the way.—See p. 146.

[1] It cannot be denied, that the interested and cold-blooded anxiety with which Cary haunted the rooms of the dying queen, (his mistress, kinswoman, and benefactress,) in order to obtain and carry the earliest news of her decease, was a great stain on his character. He was created Lord Lippington, and afterwards Earl of Monmouth.

their purses, (gold and silver being a precious commodety in that climate, and would procure any thing,) and did procure suits, honours, and offices, to any that first came; of all which the king afterward extended his bounty, in so large and ample a manner, as procured his own impoverishment, to the pressure of his subjects, so far as set some distance between him and them, which his wisdom and king craft could not easily at all times reconcile.[1]

Sir Roger Aston, K. James his barber.

The first that came from the king to the lords in England, to give order for all things necessary for the expediting his journey towards England, was Sir Roger Aston, an Englishman born, but had his breeding wholly in Scotland,[2] and had served the

[1] James, however, took the most ingenuous mode of stifling the complaints of his subjects, by acknowledging his own prodigality, and expressing a resolution (which he did not adhere to) of guarding against his propensities to liberality in future.—See SOMERS' *Tracts*, last edition, vol. ii. p. 69.

[2] Sir Roger Aston was groom of the chamber to James I., although here irreverently termed his barber.

king many years as his barber, an honest and free-hearted man, and of an ancient family in Cheshire, but of no breeding answerable to his birth; yet he was the only man ever imployed as a messenger from the king to Q. Elizabeth, as a letter-carrier only, which expressed their own intentions without any help from him, (besides the delivery;) but even in that capacity was in very good esteem with her majesty, and received very royal rewards, which did inrich him, and gave him a better revenue than most gentlemen in Scotland; for the queen did find him as faithful to her as to his master, in which he shewed much wisdom, though of no breeding. In this his imployment, I must not pass over one pretty passage I have heard himself relate: That

He was natural son of John Aston, second son of Richard Aston, of Aston, in Cheshire. He was, as mentioned in the text, much beloved by the king, and often intrusted with the charge of letters to Queen Elizabeth. After James's accession to the English crown, Sir Richard Aston was made Master of the Great Wardrobe, and died 23d May, 1712.—*Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. col. 178.

he did never come to deliver any letters from his master, but ever he was placed in the lobby, the hangings being turned him, where he might see the queen dancing to a little fiddle, which was to no other end, than that he should tell his master, by her youthful disposition, how likely he was to come to the possession of the crown he so much thirsted after; for you must understand, the wisest in that kingdom did believe the king should never enjoy this crown as long as there was an old wife in England, which they did believe we ever set up, as the other was dead.

Sir Roger Aston presenting himself before the council, being but a plain untutored man, being asked, How he did, and courted by all the lords, lighted upon this happy reply: Even, my lords, like a poor man, wandering above forty years in a wilderness and barren soyl, and now arrived at the Land of Promise. This man was afterward made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Master of the Wardrobe, and invested

After made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, &c. 7.

with such honours and offices as he was capable of, and that inabled him to live in a noble way during his life, and to leave his daughters great fortunes; but had you seen how the lords did vye courtesies to this poor gentleman, striving who should ingross that commodity by the largest bounty, you could not but have condemned them of much baseness, (especially seeing, when, at this time, offices and great places of honor will not be accepted from that son,)* that the very barber of whose father was so much courted, but to speak a good word in their behalfs. Surely the times are much altered.

And now all preparation was made to meet the king at Yorke, that he might in that northern metropolis appear like a king of England, and take that state on him there, which was not known in Scotland; there met him all the lords of the council, and there did they all make court to the Scotchmen that were most in favor with the king, and there did the Scotch courtiers

* Charles I.

lay the first foundation of their English fortunes; the chief of them was Sir George Hewme,[1] a kind of favourite, but not such as after appeared with young faces and smooth chins, but one that, for his wisdom and gravity, had been in some secret councels with his master, which created that dearness between them; and the chief of those secrets was that of Gowries conspiracy, though that nation gave little credit to the story, but would speak both slightly and despitefully of it, and those of the wisest of that nation; yet there was a weekly commemoration, by the Tuesday sermon, and an anniversary feast, as great as it was possible, for the king's preservation, ever on the fifth of August; upon which day, as Sir John Ramsey, after Earl of Holdernes,[2] for

Sir G. Hewme a kind of favourite.

[1] Sir George Hume was afterwards created Earl of Dunbar, and was the only able and sensible man whom James ever made an avowed favourite.

[2] Sir John Ramsey [not Sir George] was the first who came to the king's assistance while he struggled with Alexander Ruthven. He struck Ruthven twice with his dagger, (the king meanwhile exclaiming, "Fie, strike low, he hath a doublet of proof;") and having

his good service in that preservation was the principal guest, so did the king grant him any boon he would aske that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his suit unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for, was unserviceable to the king, and indeed did make the English believe as little the truth of that story, as the Scots themselves did; and yet, on my conscience, the good gentleman did in that, as a lyer often doth, by telling a lye often believeth it to be a very truth; but the truth was, (although he was not a man capable of much himself,) yet had it been true, there was too little done for him, being not true too much; for being an earl, he was in very little esteem, either with his master, or with the better sort of courtiers. And I pray God, that the effects of those sermons in the fathers time, for that service, cause no ill effects, or be not one

severed him, thrust him towards the staircase, where he was dispatched by Erskine and Harries, two of the king's attendants, who were in the act of ascending it.

cause of Gods anger towards us in the sons reigne.

This Sir George Hewme being the only man that was the guider of the king and his affairs, all the wiser sort of English made their addresses unto him; amongst those Sir Robert Cecil,[1] a very wise man, but much hated in England, by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved Earle of Essex,[2] and for that was clouded

Sir Robert Cecil a favourite.

[1] Afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and James's most able minister. He was second son of the celebrated Burleigh, and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth; in which situation, he used to have the nickname of "Robert the Devil," after the title of an old romance.—Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 227.

[2] Essex was in high favour with James, whose resentment against Raleigh is said to have begun in the share which he had in accelerating the fate of that nobleman. There is extant a most singular letter, in which Raleigh urges Cecil to precipitate the death of his rival by the following arguments:

"For after-revenges, fear them not; for your own father was esteemed the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs. Nor-

also in the kings favour; he came to York, but lay close, unseen, or scarce knowne to be in the city, untill he knew what entertainment he should receive from the king; for he was in his own, and all mens opinions, so under the hatches, as not ever to appeare above board againe, (nor did any of the counter faction to Essex, besides himself, ever attaine to the kings favour;) but those friends raised by his wit and purse, did so co-operate, (of which Sir Roger Aston, that plain man, was principal, for which he

thumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Horsey; and Horsey let him go by all his life-time. I could name you a thousand of those; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures from causes remote—look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will. Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny."—CAYLEY'S *Life of Ralegh*, i. 340.

lost not his labor,) that Sir George Hewme and Sir Robert Cecil had many secret meetings, and did so comply, that Sir Robert Cecil, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his chamber, like a giant, to run his race, for honour and fortune; and who in such dearness and privacy with the king as Sir Robert Cecil, as if he had been his faithful servant many years before;[1] yet did not either his friends, wit, or wealth, raise him so much (as some believe) as the ill offices done by him to this nation, in discovering the nature of the people, and shewing the king the way how to enhance his prerogative so above the laws, that he might enslave the nation; which, though it took well then, yet it hath been of sad and dangerous consequence in after-times; for, first, he caused a whole cart-load of parliament presidents, that spake the subjects liberty, to be burnt; next, raising

[1] Sir Anthony Welldon seems to have been ignorant of Cecil's secret correspondence with James before his accession to the English crown.

two hundred thousand pound for making two hundred baronets, telling the king he should finde his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burthen, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears; and when the king said, It would discontent the generality of the gentry, he replied, Tush, sir, you want the money that will do you good, the honor will do them very little; and by these courses he raised 13.
himself, friends, and family, to offices, honors, and great possessions; yet, as a punishment, he lived long enough to have lost all, had not death prevented him between the Bath and London; for the Duke of Bullion being then here, about the overture of that unfortunate match between the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, had so done his errand and discovered his jugling;[1] it is most certain he had been stript of all at his return, which he well understanding

[1] This surmise is no where confirmed.

from his friends at court, did expedite his end; but he dyed opportunely to save his honor and his estate for his posterity, though to leave a mark of ignominy on himself, by that Herodian disease; and that for all his great honors, and possessions, and stately houses,
14. he found no place but the top of a mole-hill, neare Marleborough, to end his miserable life; so that it may be said of him, and truly, he died of a most loathsome disease, and remarkable, without house, without pity, without the favour of that master that had raised him to so high an estate;[x] and yet must he have that right done him, (which is also a note of the misfortune of our times,) there hath not been any since his time that equalled him to fulfil the proverb, *Seldom comes a better;* he had great parts, was very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue and able parts in others; so they did

[x] This scandalous story we have already confuted in our notes on Osborne's Memorials. See p. 234.

not appeare too high in place, or look too narrowly into his actions.

The next that came on the publick theatre in favour, was Henry Howard, a younger son of the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Thomas Howard, the one after Earl of Northampton, the other Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlaine, and after Lord Treasurer, who, by Salisburies greatnesse with that family, rather than by any merit or wisdom in themselves, raised many great families of his children; Northampton, though a great clerk, yet not a wise man, but the grossest flatterer of the world, and as Salisbury by his wit, so this by his flattery, raised himself; yet one great motive to the raising of all that name of Howards was, the Duke of Norfolk suffering for the queen of Scots, the kings mother; yet did Suffolk so farre get the start of Northampton, that Northampton never after loved him but from teeth outwards, only had so much discretion as not to fall to actual enmity, to the overthrow of both, and the weakening that 15.

faction; Suffolk also using him with all submissive respect, not for any love, but
16. hope of gaining his great estate, and sharing it amongst his children; but Northamptons distaste was such, by his losse of the treasurers place, which he had with such assurance promised to himself in his thoughts, that, except what he gave to master Henry Howard, the rest he gave to the Earl of Arundel, who, by his observance, but more especially by giving Northampton all his estate if he never returned from travel, had wrought himselfe so far into his affections, that he doted on him.

And now the principal managers of the English affairs were Salisbury, Suffolk, Northampton, Buckhurst, Egerton (Lord Keeper,) Worcester, and the old admiral; for the Scots, Sir George Hewme, now Earl of Dunbar, Secretary Elfeston,[1] after Earl of

[1] Sir James Elphingston, which name is pronounced in Scotland nearly according to the spelling in the text, was third son of Robert, third Lord Elphingston. Being educated to the law, and a man of excellent parts,

Balmerino, and as wise a man as was in England or Scotland, the Lord of Kinlosse, a very honest, but weak man. 17.

You are now to observe that Salisbury had shaken off all that were great with him, and of his faction, in Queen Elizabeths dayes, as Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir George Carew, the Lord Grey, the Lord Cobham. The three first very able men as the world had; the last but one degree from a foole, yet served their turns better than a wiser man, by his greatness with the queen; for they would put him on any thing, and make him tell any lye with as great confidence as a truth. Three of these were utterly ruined, as you shall hear in the following discourse; the fourth,[1] being a very wise

[1] he rose to the station of one of the Lords of the Treasury in Scotland, then called *Octavians*, was made Secretary of State in 1598, created Lord Balmerino in 1603, and died in 1612. The honour was forfeited in the person of his great great grandson, Arthur, sixth Lord Balmerino, who was beheaded in 1746. See vol. ii.

[1] Sir George Carew, created Lord Carew of Clopton. He was made governor of Guernsey, and was for some time ambassador to France.

man, contented himself with a mean place, that was worthy of a much greater; and although very active formerly, called to
18. mind this saying: *Fælix quem faciunt*, &c. and medled with no state business, his wisdom foretelling his fate if he had done otherwise; for he did see one better headpeice than his own sit tottering at that time, and fell off afterwards, which made him think it was good sleeping in a whole skin.

The king no sooner came to London, but notice was taken of a rising favourite, the first meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the king cast his eye upon him for affection, so did all the courtiers, to
Mr James Hay a favourite. adore him; his name was Mr James Hay, a gentleman that long lived in France, and some say, of the Scottish guard to that king; this gentleman coming over to meet the king, and share with him in his new conquest, (according to the Scots phrase,[1])

[1] In Scottish law, the word *conquest* implies simply acquisition; hence the division into heirs of conquest

it should seem had some former acquaintance with the then leiger embassadour in Scotland for the French king, who, coming with his majesty into England, presented this gentleman as a well accomplished gentleman to the king, in such an high commendation, as engendred a liking, that produced a favourite; in thankfull acknowledgement whereof, he did him many faire offices for the present, and coming afterwards an extraordinary embassadour to our king, made him the most sumptuous feast at Essex house that ever was seene before, never equalled since, in which was such plenty, and fish of that immensity (brought out of Muscovia,[1]) that dishes were made to containe them, (no dishes in all England before could neare hold them,) after that a costly voydee, and after that a mask of choyce noblemen and gentlemen, and after that a most costly and mag- 19. His rise. His sumptuous feast.

and heirs of law; but Welldon's sneer is easily understood.

[1] Sturgeon probably.

20. nificent banquet, the king, lords, and all the prime gentlemen then about London being invited thither. Truly, he was a most compleat and well-accomplished gentleman, modest and court-like, and of so faire a demeanour, as made him be generally beloved; and for his wisdom, I shall give you but one character for all:[1] He was ever great with all the favourites of his time; and although the king did often change, yet he was *semper idem* with the king and favourites, and got by both; for although favourites had that exorbitant power over the king, to make him grace and disgrace whom they pleased, yet he was out of their power, and the only exception to that general rule; and for his gettings, it was more then almost all the favourites of his time,

His accomplishments.

21. which appeared in those vast expenses of

[1] Compare this character with that given of Hay by Osborne, and consider where the truth may be. also at Aulicus Coquinariæ, which regularly black-balls the few characters which Welldon, contrary to his usual practice, seems disposed to white-wash.

all sorts; and, had not the bounty of his mind exceeded his gettings, he might have left the greatest estate that ever our age or climate had heard of; he was indeed made for a courtier, who wholly studied his master, and understood him better then any other.

He was employed in very many of the most weighty affaires, and sent with the most stately embassies of our times, which he performed with that wisdome and magnificence, that he seemed an honour to his king and country. For his carriage in state affaires, he was termed by some princes the kings juggler. He married the daughter and heire of the Lord Denny, after the Earl of Northumberlands daughter, and was hated of none that ever I heard of but the Earl of Northampton, who had no pa- 22.
tience to see him, being himselfe of so venemous and cankred a disposition, that indeed he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but flatterers like himselfe; yet it was a great question whether he hated

the Earl of Carlisle or Sir Robert Mansell most, by whom he hath been heard to say, Body of God, I will be content to be damned perpetually in hell to be revenged of that proud Welshman; and did so hate him, that he kept an inquisition on him seven yeares, to prove that he had cousened the king of fourteen thousand pounds, which, at the seven yeares end, at an hearing before the king, the lords, the queen, and all the ladies being present, with all the gallantry of the court, ended in one paire of silke stockins, given by one for a new-yeares gift to master Wels, Sir Robert
23. Mansells servant; at which, the king stood up, and sware very deeply; Doe you beleeve I will take a paire of silke stockins for my fourteen thousand pounds? Give me that, give me that: Is this all the fruit of seven yeares commission? at which words Sir Robert Mansell kneeled downe, and said, I will now, sir, take all the faults they can charge my servant with upon my selfe; at which the king was very angry, that so

noble a gentleman, who had so well acquitted himselfe, and hohour, should intrust it in the keeping of a servant; at the end of all, the Earle of Salisbury kneeled downe, and said, Sir, if you will suffer malice so farre to prevaile as to have your honest servants traduced to satisfie the humours of any, I beseech you take my staffe, for were my selfe and the Earl of Worcester, here present, put in the ballance against Sir Robert Mansell, we should prove too light; I am in a great place, and cannot say, but by my selfe, or servants, I may faile, yet not with our own wils; therefore, sir, if you will suffer such inquisitions, there will be no serving your majesty in such places as I hold, by your majesties favour. Thus ended the Earle of Northamptons malice, which only served to honour Sir Robert Mansell, and make a scorne of himselfe, and this only to make the venome of this monster appeare, who did flatter the king, and dissemble with God. 21.

And now begin embassadours to appeare

from divers princes; the principall were, Roney, Duke of Sullice, from the French king, the constable of Castile from the Spanish king, the Count Arremberg from the Arch-Duke; the former came to congratulate only, and desired the confirmation of the ancient amity betwixt the two crownes;[1] the latter two about the establishing a firme peace betwixt these two
25. kingdomes, that had lived in perpetual warre and hatred of each other, by which it might appeare where the advantage of such a peace would fall by those that sought, or rather bought it with an infinite masse of

[1] It seems probable that Henry IV. did not dispatch his wisest counsellor, the celebrated Sully, on such errand of mere formality, but rather to fathom the spirit of the new possessor of the British monarchy, and discover, if possible, how far James would be likely to join in the immense plans which he certainly projected for humbling the pride and diminishing the power of Spain. But these splendid projects Rosni (for he was still only Marquis de Rosni) soon discovered to be equally adverse to James's genius and inclinations; nor could he carry his negotiation farther than to establish a league for the protection of the united provinces.

treasure, prodigally cast about the English court.

To bring these embassadours over, were appointed Sir Robert Mansell, being admirall of the narrow seas, and Sir Jerome Turner, his vice-admirall; the first commanded to attend at Graveling for the Spanish embassadour, the latter at Calis for the French; but the French comming first, and hearing the vice-admirall was to attend him, the admirall the other, in a scorne put himselfe in a passage-boat of Calis, came forth with flagge in top; instantly Sir Jerome Turner sent to know of the admirall what he should doe; Sir Robert Mansell sent him word to shoot and sinke him, if he would not take in the flag; this, as it made the flag bee pulled in, so a great complaint, and 'twas beleeved it would have undone Sir Robert Mansell, the French faction pressing it so home: but he maintained the act, and was the better beloved of his master ever after, to his dying day.

This makes it appeare how jealous old

commanders were of their owne honour, and of their masters, and kingdomes honours, which since hath been so prodigally wasted, as we are utterly bankrupt, having spent our old stock, and have not bravery enough to erect a new.

The constable of Castile so plyed his masters businesse, (in which he spared for no cost,) that he procured a peace so advantageous for Spaine, and so disadvantageous for England, that it and all Christendome have since both seen and felt the
27. lamentable effects thereof. There was not one courtier of note, that tasted not of Spaines bounty, either in gold or jewels, and among them, not any in so large a proportion as the Countesse of Suffolke, who shared in her lords interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had, in being mistris to that little great secretary, (little in body and stature, but great in wit and policy,) the sole manager of state affaires; so it may be said, she was a double sharer, and in truth, Audley-end, that fa-

mous and great structure, had its foundation of Spanish gold.

The king was a peaceable and merciful prince; yet God (for some secret intent best known to himself) laid the foundation of his reigne, with the greatest mortality ever before heard of in this kingdome, by a fearfull plague, and some by that judged what his future reign would be; yet their wisdomes failed, for he was a king of mercy, as well as peace, never cruell, yet surely it had some morall. A great plague. 28.

He was forced by that contagion to leave the metropolis, and go into a by-corner in Wiltshire, Wilton, the Earle of Pembrokes house, in which time of his abode there, a kind of treason brake forth;[1] but what it was, as no man could then tell, so it is left with so dark a comment, that posterity will never understand the text, or remember any such treason. It is true, some lost their

[1] The real or alledged conspiracy of Raleigh, Cobham, and others, to bring in the Spaniards, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin.

lives, yet the world was never satisfied with the justice; and one of them, (and that the only mark of tyranny of this good kings reign,) executed many yeares after without all president, and, on my conscience, without any just cause, and even against that
29. good kings will, who, in many things, was over-awed by his timorous disposition.

But the Spanish faction and Spanish gold betrayed his life, as they had done the kingdoms before, and I believe it was one of the greatest master-pieces of that embassador, to purchase Rawleighs head; yet had not Bristol co-operated, the king would never have consented, and it may be he had some secret ends, fearing his wisdom might once again have raised him to have looked over Sherborne Castle,[1] once his own, and how

[1] Raleigh obtained a grant of Sherborne Castle, which was part of the spoils of the see of Salisbury. Sir John Harrington bitterly censures Raleigh for this sacrilegious acquisition; and remarks, that a fall from horseback, which followed ere he had obtained complete possession of his so much coveted domain, had an appearance of divine retribution. In order to save his

unjustly taken from him, God will one day judge. I know not whether there be a curse on those that are owners of it, as fables report, but I am confident there is a curse on Bristol for taking away his life. I will not take upon me too far to pry into Gods arke; yet what is like to befall him, and hath already his son,[1] (as hopeful a gentleman as any in the kingdom,) may give some token of Gods anger against him and his family. 80.

But, because I will not leave you altogether blinde-folded, I shall, as near as I can, lead you to the discovery of this treason, which consisted of protestants, puritans, papists, and atheists: a strange medley you

A narration of the treason charged on Rawleigh, &c.

life, when first condemned, Raleigh was fain to part with this estate to the reigning favourite, Car, Earl of Somerset.

[1] Carew Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, was an attendant on Charles I.; but afterwards espoused the cause of the parliament, and petitioned, though without success, to be restored to his father's estate. He survived the restoration, and died in 1666.—See SOMERS'S *Tracts*, edit. 1809, vol. ii.

will say, to meet in one and the same treason, and keep counsel, which surely they did, because they knew not of any. The protestants were, the Lord Cobham, and George Brook, his brother; the one very learned and wise, the other a most silly lord; the puritan, the Lord Grey, of Wilton, a very hopefull gentleman, blasted in the very bud; the papists, Watson and Clarke,
31. priests, and Parham, a gentleman; the atheist, Sir Walter Rawleigh,[1] then generally so believed, though after brought by affliction (the best school-mistris) to be, and so dyed, a most religious gentleman. This treason was compounded of most strange

[1] On his trial, amid other gross incivilities, he was charged by the Lord Chief Justice with holding atheistical opinions. According to Aubrey's MSS., he spoke at his execution of a reliance upon his Creator; but without mentioning the peculiar doctrines of our religion, whence it was concluded that he was a deist, but not an atheist. But if the verses, entitled, "My Pilgrimage," be Sir Walter Raleigh's, the hopes which are there manifested of redemption through our Saviour ought to clear his memory of this reproach.—See CAYLEY'S *Life of Raleigh*, vol. ii. p. 159.

ingredients, (and more strange then true,) it was very true, most of these were discontented to see Salisbury, their old friend, so high, to trample on them; that before had been his chief supporters, (and being ever of his faction,) now neglected and contemned. It was then beleeved an errand trick of state to overthrow some, and disable others, knowing their strong abilities might otherwise live to overthrow Salisbury; for they were intimate in all his secret councels for the ruine of Essex, especially Rawleigh, Grey, and Cobham; though the latter was a fool, yet had been very useful to them, (as the toole in the hand of the workman.) To have singled 32.
out these without some priests, which were traitours by the law, had smelt too rank, and appeared too poor and plaine a trick of state; and Salisbury in this had a double benefit:—First, In ridding himself of such as he feared would have been thornes in his sides: Secondly, By endearing himself to the king, by shewing his diligence and

vigilancy for his safety, so that it might be said of him, as of Cæsar in another case, *inveniam aut faciam*, I will either find out a treason or make one; and this had been a pretty trick, had it been only to disgrace without taking away life; but how this piece of policy may stand with religion, I fear by this time he too well understands; and this
33. plot, as near as I can tell you, (and I dare say my intelligence gave me as near a guess as ever any man had,) was, that all these in a discontented humor had, by Watson and Clark, being confessors, dealt with Count Aremberge, the Arch-Dukes embassadour, to negotiate with the Arch-Duke to raise an army and invade England, and they would raise another of papists and male-contents to joyn; for you must understand the king was believed an errant puritan, (*cujus contrarium verum est.*) How likely this plot was, let the world judge, that the King of Spaine, who had bought peace at so dear a rate, and found it so advantagious to him, by the lamentable experience

he had formerly in the wars with this formidable state, should seek to break it so soon; and had it been real treason, the state had been bound to have rewarded these traytors, as the best piece of service done in England all that kings reigne. It was indeed those that made the piece, not those that endeavoured the breaking of it, were the traytors, and are to be cursed by all posterity. Yet this foolish plot served well enough to take some blocks out of the way, that might afterwards have made some of them stumble, to the breaking of their own necks.

They were all arraigned of treasone at Winchester, whither the king sent some secretly to observe all passages, upon whose relations of the innocency of the persons arraigned, and slight proofe upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to sign any warrant for the execution of Rawleigh, Cobham, and Grey; very hardly for any of the rest, the two priests excepted.

35. For Rawleighs defence, it was so brave and just, as (had he not wilfully cast himselfe out of very weariness, as unwilling to detain the company longer) no jury could ever have cast him; all the evidence brought against him, was Cobhams accusation, which he only desired *viva voce*, and he would yield without further defence; but that they knew full well Cobham would not, nor could accuse him, having beene tampered with by Wade, then lieutenant of the Tower, and Salisburies great creature. Wade desired it under his hand, that also he refused; at last Wade got a trick by his cunning to surprise Cobhams weaknesse, to get him to write his name to a blanke, to which Wade, no question, wrote
36. the accusatione, as will appeare hereafter; for Salisbury urging Rawleigh often, If Cobham had accused him under his hand, would he then yield? Rawleigh replyed, He knew Cobham weak of judgment, and did not know how that weaknesse might be wrought upon, but was confident he

would not to his face accuse him, and therefore would not put his fortune and all on that; at which fence he stood till nine at night. At last his fate carried him against his reason, and he yielded upon the producing his hand, which was instantly pulled out, and was in truth his hand, but not his act or deede. So at that present was George Brooke, Watson, and Clarke executed, Parham acquitted, and Sir Wal. Rawleigh executed many yeares after for the same treasone, as much against all reasone, as all or any president; yea, after he had beene a generall by the kings commission; and had by that power of 37.
the lives of many others, utterly against the civil law, which saith, "He that hath power over the lives of others, ought to be master of his own." But the Spaniard was so powerfull at that time at courte, as that factione could command the life of any man that might prove dangerous to their designes. Grey and Cobham dyed in their restraint, the one much pitied, the other

scorned; and his death as base, for he dyed lousie for want of apparell and linnen; and had starved, had not a trencher-scraper, some time his servant in court, releeved him with scraps, in whose house he dyed, being so poore a house, as he was forced to creepe up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber; which was a strange judgement, and unpresidented, that a man of seven thousand pound per annum, and
88. of a personall estate of thirty thousand pounds, of all which the king was cheated, of what should escheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all cases the king doth, unlesse out of his own revenue of the crowne, which was the occasion of this lords want, (his wife being very rich, would not give him the crums that fell from her table;) and this was a just judgement of God on him; and now, because it will be pertinent in this place to let you understand, that Rawleigh had his life surreptiously taken away, I shall give you a true story.

Queene Anne, that brave princess, was in a desperate, and beleeved incurable disease; whereof the phisitians were at the furthest end of their studies to finde the cause, at a *non-plus* for the cure; Sir Walter Rawleigh, being by his long studies an admirable chymist, undertooke and performed the cure;[1] for which he would receive no other reward, but that her majesty would procure that certaine lords might be sent to examine Cobham, whether he had accused Sir Walter Rawleigh of treasone at any time under his hand: The king, at the queens request,[2] (and in jus- 89.

[1] "Raleigh's Cordial" was long in high esteem. He prescribed some medicine for Prince Henry when he was in his last illness; but, although it brought on a perspiration, nature was too much spent for profiting by the crisis.

[2] That Queen Anne really favoured Raleigh appeared from the fruitless interference which she used in his behalf, by the following letter, addressed to Buckingham:

"ANNA R.

My kind Dogge,

If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you

tice could do no less,) sent six lords, which, I take, were, the Duke of Lennox, Salisbury, Worcester, Suffolk, Sir George Carew, and Sir Julius Cæsar, to demand of Cobham, whether he had not, under his hand, accused Sir Walter Rawleigh at Winchester, upon that treasone he was arraigned for. Cobham did protest never, nor could he; but, said he, "That villain Wade did often solicit me, and, not prevailing, got me, by a tricke, to write my name upon a piece of white paper, which I, thinking nothing, did; so that if any charge came under my hande, it was forged by that villain Wade, by writing something

40.

let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it, so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still as you have been, a true servant to your master.

To the Marquis of Buckingham."

CAYLEY'S *Life of Raleigh.* Lond. 1806. 8. ii. 156.

above my hand, without my consent or knowledge." These six returning to the king, made Salisbury their spokesman, who said, "Sir, my L. Cobham has made good all that ever he wrote or said;" and this was an equivocating trick, for it was true he made good whatever he writ, but never wrote any thing to accuse Rawleigh; by which you see the baseness of these lords, the credulity of the king, and the ruine of Sir Walter Rawleigh. I appeal now to the judgement of all the world, whether these six lords were not the immediate murtherers, and, no question, shall be called to a sad account for it.

And thus have you a true relation of the 41.
treasone and traytors, with all the windings and turnings in it, and all passages appertaining to it; and by it, you may see the slavery these great men were inslaved in by Salisbury, that none durst testifie such a truth, as the not testifying, lost their most precious souls.

And now doth the king return to Wind-

sor, where there was an apparitione[1] of Southamptons being a favourite with his majesty, by that privacy and dearness presented to the courte view; but Salisbury, liking not that any of Essex his faction should come into play, made that apparitione appeare, as it were *in transitu*, and so vanquished, by putting some jealousies into the kings head, which was so far from jealousie, that he did not much desire to be in his queenes company; yet love and regality must admit of no partnership.

49. Then was there, in requital of the Spanish embassadours, two stately embassies addressed, the one to Spaine, the other to the Arch-Duke, to have that peace they so dearly purchased confirmed, and sworne to by ours, as formerly by them. The old Lord Admirall[2] was sent to Spaine, the

[1] Appearance.

[2] Howard, Earl of Nottingham. There is a particular account of his embassy in the second volume of Somers's Tracts, second edition, by Treswal, Somerset Herald. The expedition did not escape the lash of popular satire; for *Stone*, a jester, celebrated by Ben

Earle of Hartford for Brussels, that the Duke of Lenox might have the better opportunity. The Spaniard was astonished at the bravery of our embassie, and the handsome gentlemen, (in both which, few embassies ever equalled this,) for you must understand, the jesuits reported our nation to be ugly, and like devils, as a punishment sent to our nation for casting off the popes supremacy; and they pictured Sir Francis Drake, generally half a man, half a dragon;[1] when they beheld them after the shape of angells, they could not well tell whether to trust their owne eyes or their confessors reportes, yet they then appeared to them, as to all the world, monstrous lyers. 43.

Jonson, in Volpone, was soundly whipped for saying that there went sixty fools into Spaine, besides my Lord Admiral and his two sons.—WINWOOD's *Memorials*, ii. p. 52.

[1] This was only done by way of pun upon the name of that adventurous admiral. Lope de Vega has, among his multifarious labours, an outrageous epic, entitled, "El Dragontea," in which Sir Francis Drake's exploits are detailed, but with no friendly voice.

The embassadour had his reception with as much state, as his entertainement with bounty, the king defraying all charges, and they were detained at their landing longer then ordinary, to have provisions prepared in their passage to Madrid, with all the bounty possible, to make the whole country appeare a land of Canaan, which, in truth, was but a wildernesse.

In their abode there, although they gave them roast meat, yet they beat them with the spits, by reporting that the English did steal all the plate, when in truth it was themselves, who thought to make hay while the sun shined, not thinking ever more to come to such a feast, to fill their purses as
44. well as their bellies, (for foode and coyne are equally alike scarce with that nation.) This report passed for currant, to the infinite dishonour of our nation, there being at that time the gallantry of our nation.

Sir Robert Mansel, who was a man born to vindicate the honor of his nation as his owne, being vice-admirall, and a man on

whom the old admirall wholly relyed, having dispatched the ships to be gone the next morning, came in very late to supper; Sir Richard Levison, sitting at the upper end of the table, amongst the grandees, the admirall himselfe not supping that night, being upon the dispatch of letters, the table, upon Sir Robert Mansels entrance, offered to rise, to give him place, but he sate down instantly at the lower end, and would not let any man stir, and falling to his meat, did espy a Spaniarde, as the dishes emptied, ever putting some in his bosome, some in his breeches, that 45.
they both strutted. Sir Robert Mansel sent a message to the upper end of the table to Sir Richard Levison, to be delivered in his eare, that whatsoever he saw him doe, he should desire the gentlemen and grandees to sit quiet; for there should be no cause of any disquiet. On the sudden, Sir Robert Mansel steps up, takes the Spaniard in his armes, at which the table began to rise. Sir Richard Levison quiets them,

brings him up to the end amongst the grandees, then pulls out the plate from his bosome, breeches, and every part about him, which did so amaze the Spaniard, and vindicate that aspersion cast on our nation, that never after was there any such sillable heard, but all honour done to the nation, and all thanks to him in particular.

46. From thence, next day they went for Madrid, where all the royall entertainment Spaine could yield was given them, and at the end of the grande entertainment and revels, which held most part of the night, as they were all returning to their lodgings, the street being made light by white wax-lights, and the very night forced into a day, by shining light; as they were passing on the street, a Spaniard catcheth off Sir Robert Mansels hat, with a very rich jewel in it, and away he flies. Sir Robert not being of a spirit to have any thing violently taken from him, nor of such a court-like compliment, to part with a jewel of that price, to one no better acquainted

with him, hurls open the boot, follows after the fellow, and some three gentlemen did follow him, to secure him, houseth the fellow in the house of an alguazil,[1] which 47.
is a great officer or judge in Spaine; this officer wondring at the manner of their coming, the one without his hat, and sword in his hand, the other with all their swords, demands the cause, they tell him; he saith, Surely none can thinke his house a sanctuary, who is to punish such offenders; but Sir Robert Mansel would not be so put off with the Spaniards gravity, but enters the house, leaving two at the gate, to see that none should come out whiles he searched; a long time they could find nothing, and the alguazil urging this as an affront, at last, looking down into a well of a small depth, he saw the fellow stand up to the neck in water. Sir Robert Mansel seized on his hat and jewel, leaving the fellow to the alguazil, but he had much rather have

[1] In original spelled *alguarell.*

48. fingered the jewel, and his gravity told Sir Robert Mansel, he could not have it without form of law, which Sir Robert dispensed with, carrying away his hat and jewel, and never heard further of the businesse. Now the truth was, the fellow knew his burrough well enough, as well as some thieves of our nation, after they have done a robbery, would put themselves into a prison of their acquaintance, assuring themselves none would search there; or rather as our recorders of London, whose chiefe revenue, for themselves and servants, is from thieves, whores, and bawds; therefore this story can not seeme strange in England.

The other embassadour sent to the Arch-Duke was the old Earle of Hertford, who was conveyed over by one of the kings ships by Sir William Monson, in whose
49. passage a Dutch man of war coming by that ship, would not vail, as the manner was; acknowledging by that, our sovereignty over the sea. Sir William Monson gave

him a shot to instruct him in manners; but instead of learning, he taught him, by returning another, he acknowledged no such sovereignty. This was the very first indignity ever offered to the royal ships of England, which since have been most frequent. Sir William Monson desired my Lord of Hertford to goe in to the hold, and he would instruct him by stripes that refused to be taught by fair meanes; but the Earle charged him on his allegiance first to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend; so, to his great regret, he was forced to endure that indignity, for which I have often heard him wish he had been hanged, rather than live that unfortunate commander of a kings ship to be chronicled for the first that ever endured that affronte, although it was not in his power to have helped it; yet by his favor, it appeared but a copy of his countenance, for it had beene but hazarding hanging to have disobeyed my lords commandement, and it had been infinite odds he had not been hanged, having to

friend him, the house of Suffolke; nor would he have been so sensible of it, had he not been of the Spanish faction, and that a Dutch ship.

Now did those great managers of the state, (of which Salisbury was chiefe,) after they had packed the cards, begin to deal the government of the kingdome amongst themselves, and persuaded the king to leave the state affaires to them, and to betake himselfe to some country recreation, which they found him addicted unto, for the city
51. and business did not agree with him; to that end, purchased, built, and repaired at Newmarket and Royston, and this pleased the kings humor well, rather that he might enjoy his favourite with more privacy, then that he loved the sports; then must Theobalds be in his owne possession, as not fit for a king to be beholding to a subject for an house of daily use, but because the king had so much want of monies to express his love and bounty to his native nation, Salisbury would exchange, and to be

land for his house and park; in which exchange he made such an advantage, that he sold his house for fifty yeares purchase,[1] and

[1] See page 231. Among the masques composed by Ben Jonson for the entertainment of the court, one of the most ingenious was presented on the surrender of Theobald's to King James, 22d May, 1607, from which the following is an extract:

"The king and queen, with the Princes of Wales and Lorrain, and the nobility, being entered into the gallery, after dinner there was seen nothing but a traverse of white across the room; which suddenly drawn, discovered a gloomy obscure place, hung all with black silks, and in it only one light, which the genius of the house held, sadly attired; his cornucopia ready to fall out of his hand, his garland drooping on his head; his eyes fixed on the ground; when, out of his pensive posture, after some little pause, he brake, and began:

"Let not your glories darken, to behold
The place and me, her genius here, so sad;
Who, by bold rumour, have been lately told,
That I must change the loved lord I had.
And he, now, in the twilight of sere age,
Begin to seek a habitation new;
And all his fortunes, and himself engage
Unto a seat, his fathers never knew;
And I, uncertain what I must endure,
Since all the ends of destiny are obscure."

Mercury appears to the despondent genius, accompanied by a boy, representing Good Event, together with the Fatal Sisters, who announce to him,

that so cunningly, as hardly to be discerned, but by a curious sight, for he fleeted

> " When underneath thy roof is seen
> The greatest king and fairest queen,
> With princes, an unmatched pair,
> One hope of all the earth, their heir;
> The other styled of Lorrain,
> Their blood, and sprung from Charlemaigne;
> When all these glories jointly shine,
> And fill thee with a heat divine,
> And these reflected, do beget
> A splendid sun, shall never set,
> But here shine fixed, to affright
> All after hopes of following night,
> Then, Genius, is thy period come,
> To change thy lord: thus fates do doom.

Upon which the consoled Genius breaks forth into the following rapture:

> Mourn'd I before? Could I commit a sin
> So much 'gainst kind or knowledge, to protract
> A joy, to which I should have ravish'd been,
> And never shall be happy till I act.
> Vouchsafe, fair queen, my patron's zeal in me;
> Who fly with fervor, as my fate commands,
> To yield these keys: and wish that you could see
> My heart as open to you, as my hands.
> There might you read my faith, my thoughts—But oh!
> My joys, like waves, each other overcome!
> And gladness drowns where it begins to flow.
> Some greater pow'rs speak out, for mine are dumb.

" At this was the place filled with rare and choice music, to which was heard the following song, delivered by an excellent voice, and the burden maintained by the whole quire:

off the cream of the kings mannors in many counties, not any two lying in any one county, and made choyce of the most in 52.
the remotest counties, only built his nest at Hatfield, within the county where his father had built his; yet kept he still his house of Theobalds, for he and his posterity were to be perpetuall keepers of the house and parkes adjacent; by this he not only shewed his wisdome for his own benefit, but to the world what the kings naturall disposition was, to be easily abused,

SONG.

Oh blessed change!
And not less glad than strange!
Where, we, that lose, have won;
And for a beam, enjoy a sun.

CHORUS.

So little sparks become great fires,
And high rewards crown low desires.

Was ever bliss
More full or clear than this!
The present month of May
Ne'er look'd so fresh as doth this day.

CHORUS.

So gentle winds breed happy springs,
And duty thrives by breath of kings.

and would take counterfeit coine for current payment.

And to fit the kings humor, and dissolve him in that delight he was most addicted to, as well as to serve Salisburies own ends, and satisfie his revenge upon some neighbor gentlemen, that formerly would not sell him some convenient parcels of land, neighbouring on Theobalds, he puts the king on enlarging the park, walling, and storing it with red deer; and I dare affirm, with
53. that work he was so well pleased, and did more glory in, then his predecessors did in the conquest of France; and as it was most true, so an ill omen, that the king loved beasts better then men, and took more delight in them, and was more tender over the life of a stagg then of a man; yet this was the weaknesse of his judgement, and pooreness of his spirit, rather than any innate cruelty; for he was not naturally cruell over lives,[1] though in displacing officers,

[1] Scaliger makes a similar observation: "James the First was merciful, except at the chace, where he was

which naturally he did believe was as glorious as to overthrow and conquer kings.

But yet for all their setting their cards, and playing their games to their own advantages, of getting much for themselves and friends, there was one knave in the packe, would cross their designes, and trump in their way, if he might not share with them in their winning; that was one Lake, a clerk to the signet,[1] after secretary, 51.

cruel, and very angry when he could not catch the stag: God, he said, is enraged against me; and when he caught him, he would put his arm entirely into the belly and entrails of the beast." The learned Scaliger was probably ignorant that this disgusting practice was the taking the assay of the stag, first ennobled by Sir Tristrem, the deviser of the laws of hunting, and faithfully followed by all true foresters. "The deer," says Turberville, "being laid upon his back, the prince, chief, or such as they shall appoint, comes to it, and the chief huntsman kneeling, if it be to a prince, doth hold the deer by the fore-foot, while the prince or chief cut a slit, drawn alongst the brisket of the deer, somewhat lower than the brisket, towards the belly. This is done to see the goodness of the flesh, and how thick it is." *The Noble Art of Venerie*, 1611.—See *the print of King James about to perform this ceremony*, p. 196.

[1] "Sir Thomas Lake was bred a scholar under Sara-

and after that turned out in disgrace; and in truth, was only wise in the worlds opinion, could swim, being held up by the chin; but at his fall all his weaknesses were discovered, and that the world had beene deceived in him, I will instance in one particular amongst many, that shall give you

via, in Hampshire, a statesman under Sir Francis Walsingham, at court; where, such his dexterity and dispatch, that he would indite, write, and discourse at the same time, more exactly than most men could severally perform them, being then called the *Swiftsure*; such his celerity and solidity in all affairs! From the secretaries amanuensis, he was promoted the queens clerk of the signet, to whom he read French and Latine to her dying day; for he was reading to her when the Countess of Warwick told him that the queen was departed. In which tongues, she often said he surpassed her secretaries. Such his sufficiency, (especially in keeping secrets,) that King James employed him in some French affairs at his first arrival without Cecil, and afterwards as Secretary of State above him. For King James (that loved whatever was faule and fluent) being taken among other his abilities with his Latine pen, said, that he was a minister of state fit to serve the greatest prince in Europe; and that the secretaries place needed *him* more than he *it*. Of whom I have no more to add, than that he was one of the three noble hands that first led Mr George Villiers to King James his favour."—LLOYD'S *Worthies*, p. 777.

full assurance. Being in disgrace, he gave two thousand pound but to kiss the kings hand, believing, that, after that, he might have access as formerly. After he had paid his money, he was never suffered to see the king more, only jeered at by all the court for his folly, and went sneaking up and down contemned of all men.

This Lake was a fellow of mean birth 65.
and meaner breeding, being an under-servant to make fires in Secretary Walsinghams chamber, and there got some experience, which afterwards, in the kings time, made him appeare an able man, which, in the queens time, when there was none in court but men of eminences, made him an inconsiderable fellow. This Lake had linked himselfe in with the Scottish nation, progging for suits, and helping them to fill their purses. As they did believe there was not so able a man in the kingdome, (for in truth ever since Queen Elizabeths death the raising mony hath been the only way to raise men, as being held the es-

sential property of a wise man, to know how to bring in money, *per fas aut nefas*,) and amongst all the Scots, he wholly applyed himself to those of the Bed-Chamber, and of nearest access to his majesty.

56. For his good service of abusing his country and countrymen, he was made Clerk of the Signet, to wait on the king in his hunting journies, and in these journies got all the bills signed, even for the greatest lords, (all packets being addressed to him;) so that even Salisbury and Northampton and the greatest lords made court to him. By this means did he raise himselfe from a mean to a great fortune, but so overawed by his wife, that if he did not what she commanded, she would beat him; and, in truth, his wife was afterward his overthrow. Besides, he would tell tales, and let the king know the passages of court, and great men, as who was Salisburies mistris, and governed all; who governed Northampton, and discovered their bawdery, which did infinitely please the kings humor, and in truth had

so much craft, as he served his turn upon all, 57.
but was ingrossed by none but by the Bed-Chamber, who stuck so close to him, that they could not yet remove him. And now doe the English faction (seeing they could not sever the Scots from him) endeavor to raise a mutiny against the Scots that were his supporters, their agents divulging every where, the Scots would get all, and would begger the kingdome. The Scots, on the other side, complain to the king, they were so poore, they underwent the by-word of beggerly Scots;* to which the king return-

* Of this obvious topic of national reproach, there is an humourous instance in an old song, published by Ritson, in his "North Country Chorister," lately republished by Triphook, the burden of which is,

Bonny Scot, we all witness can,
That England hath made thee a gentleman.

Thy blue bonnet, when thou came hither,
Could scarce keep out the wind and weather;
But now it is turned to a hat and feather,
Thy bonnet is blown, the devil knows whither.

Thy shoes on thy feet, when thou camest from plough
Were made of the hide of an old Scots cow;
But now they are turned to a rare Spanish leather,
And decked with roses altogether.

ed this answer, (as he had a very ready wit,) "Content yourselves, I will shortly make the English as beggerly as you, and so end that controversie." This is as true as he truly performed it; for however he enriched many in particular, as Salisbury, Suffolk, Northampton, Worcester, Lake, &c. yet he did begger himselfe and the nation in general.

58. This also was inculcated into the ears of the parliament, when that great business about the union was in debate, which was much crossed by that opinione, if they had already impoverished the kingdome, by the union they would bankrupt it. But since you see, by their own valour and bravery of spirit, they have made us beg a re-

And, after describing much similar change of apparel, it concludes,

Thy sword at thy a— was a great black blade,
With a great basket hilt of iron made;
But now a long rapier doth hang by his side,
And huffingly doth this bonny Scot ride.
Bonny Scot, we all witness can,
That England hath made thee a gentleman.

union with them, and for ought we see, all our happiness is derived from their favours.[1]

They that lived at court, and were curious observers of every mans actions, could have then affirmed, that Salisbury, Suffolk, and Northampton, and their friends, did get more then the whole nation of Scotland, (Dunbar excepted;) for, whatever 59.
others got they spent here, only Dunbar laid a foundation of a great family, which did all revert into England again with his daughters marriage with the house of Suffolk; so, in truth, all the water run to their mills.

It is most true, that many Scots did get much; but not more with one hand then

[1] This seems to infer, that these Memoirs were written about 1641, when, and for three or four years afterwards, the Scottish nation were in great favour with the parliament party. But the author of the following tract justly observes, that Welldon lived to see, in the language of the times, "Our late gude presbyterian brethren turn false bairnes," and become traitors and rebels to the reformation of the state, which they themselves had first set in motion.

they spent with the other, witness the Earl of Kelly, Annandale, &c.; nay, that great getter the Earle of Carlisle also, and some private gentlemen, as Sir Gideon Murrey, John Achmoty, James Baily, John Gib, and Barnard Lindley, got some pretty estastes, not worthy either the naming or envying; old servants should get some moderate estates to leave to posterity.

But these, and all the Scots in general, got scarce a tythe of those English getters, that can be said did stick by them or their posterity; besides, Salisbury had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet cast all the envy on them. He would make them buye books of fee-farms, some one hundred pounds per annum, some one hundred marks, and he would compound with them for a thousand pound; which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any controle or charge, and one thousand pound appeared to them, that never saw ten poundes before, an inex-

haustible treasure. Then would Salisbury fill up this book with such prime land, as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pound, which was easie for him, being treasurer, so to doe; and by this meanes, Salisbury inriched himself infinitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose names these books appeared, and are still upon recorde to all posterity; though Salisbury had the honey, they, poor gentlemen, but part of the wax; Dunbar only had his agents, and could play his own game, which they durst not cross; so was the poor king and state cheated on all hands. 61.

And now did a contention arise between the English and Scots, about the election of a favourite, out of whether nation he should come; now was Montgomery in the waine, being given more to his own pleasures then to observe the king, so that alway the Earle of Carlisle did invest him in his room. He as soon by his neglective carriage did devest himselfe; yet was he ever in the kings good opinione, and one

that he put more trust in at the time of his death then in all his other servants.

Mr Carre his rise. 62.

Then was there a young gentleman, master Robert Carre, who had his breeding in France, and was newly returned from travel, a gentleman very handsome and well bred, and one that was observed to spende his time in serious studies, and did accompany himselfe with none but men of such eminences, as by whom he might be bettered. This gentleman, the Scots so wrought it, that they got him into a grooms place of the Bed-Chamber, and was very well pleasing to all. He did more then any other associate himselfe with Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of excellent parts, (but those made him proude, over-valuing himselfe, and under-valuing others, and was infected with a kind of insolency.) With this gentleman spent he most of his time, and drew the eyes of the courte, as well as the affection of his master upon him; yet very few, but such as were the curious observers of those times could discern the

drawing of the kings affection ; untill upon 63.
a coronation day, riding in with the Lord Dingwel to the tilt-yard, his horse fell with him, and brake his legg. He was instantly carried into master Riders house, at Charingcross, and the news as instantly carried to the king, having little desire to see the triumph, but much desired to have it ended, and no sooner ended, but the king went instantly to visit him, and after, by his daily visiting and mourning over him, taking all care for his speedy recovery, made the day-break of his glory appeare, every courtier now concluding him actually a favourite.

Lord ! how the great men flocked then to see him, and to offer to his shrine in such abundance, that the king was forced to lay a restraint, least it might retard his recovery, by spending his spirits; and to facilitate the cure, care was taken for a choyce dyet for himselfe and chirurgions with his attendants, and no sooner recovered, but a proclaimed favourite. 64.

Then the English lords, who formerly

coveted an English favourite, (and to that end the Countess of Suffolke did look out choyse young men, whom she daily curled, and perfumed their breaths,) left all hope, and she her curling and perfuming, all adoring this rising sun, every man striving to invest himselfe into this mans favour, (not sparing for bounty nor flattery;) which was not hard to be obtained, being naturally more addicted to the English then to the Scotch, in so much, that he endeavoured to forget his native country and his fathers house, having none of note about
65. him but English, and but one besides English, in any familiarity with him, which was Sir Robert Carre, his kinsman; but above all was Sir Thomas Overbury, his Pythias. Then was the strife between Salisbury and Suffolk, who should engross him, and make him their monopoly; each presenting, proffering, and accumulating favours upon Overburies kindred, the father made a judge in Wales, and himselfe offered offices; but Overbury, naturally of an insolent spirit,

which was elevated by being so intimate with the favourite, and wholly having ingrossed that commodity, which could not be retayled but by him and his favor; with a kind of scorne neglected their friendships, yet made use of both.

Mr Carre knighted. 66.

Now was Carre knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Overburies pride rose with the others honors, still scorning the chapmen, as they did by their cheape offices undervalue so precious a commodity.

Northamptons plot upon him.

Northamptone finding himselfe neglected by so meane a fellow, cast about another way, and followed Balaams councel, by sending a Moabitish woman unto him, in which he made use of Copinger, a gentleman who had spent a fair fortune left by his ancestors, and now, for maintenance, was forced to lead the life of a serving man, (that formerly kept many to serve him,) and as an addition, the worst of that kind, a flat bawd.

This gentleman had lived a scandalous

life, by keeping a whore of his own, which, for the honor of her family, I will not name; therefore, was fittest to trade in that commodity for another, and, in truth, was fitt to take any impression basenesse could stamp upon him, as the sequel of this story
67. will manifest. This Moabitish woman was a daughter of the Earle of Suffolk, married to a young noble gentleman, the Earle of Essex.

This traine took, and the first private meetings were at Copingers house, and himselfe bawd to their lust, which put him into a far greater bravery for a time, then when he was master of his owne; but it had bitternesse on all hands in the end. This privacy in their stolen pleasures, made Copinger a friend to Northampton and Suffolk, though but a servant to Viscount Rochester, for so now he was called; and now had they linked him so close, as no breaking from them.

Overbury was that John Baptist that reproved the Lord for the sin of using the

lady, and abusing the young Earl of Essex; would call her strumpet, her mother and 68.
brother bawds, and used them with so much scorne, as in truth was not to be endured from a fellow of his rank, to persons of that quality, how faulty soever otherwise they were.

Then, to satisfie Overbury, and blot out the name of sin, his love led him into a more desperate way, by a resolution to marry another mans wife. Against this then did Overbury bellow louder, and in it, shewed himself more like an affectionate then a discreet and moderate friend: had he compounded but one dram of discretion with an ounce of affection, he might with such a receipt have preserved his own life, and their fortunes and honors.

For those that infinitely hated that family, did as infinitely contemn his insolent carriage and behaviour towards them; so that had any of those brothers, or name, killed Overbury, either by picking a quar- 69.
rell with him, or pistolling him, or any

other desperate way, or bravely in a duel, upon some other ground of a quarrel, then blemishing their sister, the world would have justified the action, however he had stood with God; but Buchanans character of that family bars all expectatione of so much bravery of spirit;[1] but a counsel must be held, to put him to dèath by some baser meanes.

The plot against Overbury.

The plot then must be, he must be sent a leidger embassadour into France,[2] which by obeying, they should be rid of so great an eye-sore; by disobeying, he incurred the displeasure of his prince, a contempt that he could not expect less then impri-

[1] We cannot find this slander upon the noble house of Howard here alluded to. Buchanan indeed mentions, that the ancestors of the Duke of Norfolk, "*inter instabilis aulæ procellas ita jactati fuerant ut summam glorium prope semper compensaret ignominia.*"—RERUM SCOTICARUM, *Hist.* lib. xix.

[2] It seems from better authority, that the destination of Overbury's intended embassy was to Russia; and much more weighty reasons may be assigned for his declining the employment under the latter supposition.

sonment for, and by that means be sequestered from his friend.

And thus far I do believe the Earle of Somerset (for so was he now created) was consenting. This stratagem took, and Overbury might truly say, *video meliora, deteriora sequor;* for he indeed made the worst choyce. It could not be thought but such an imployment was far above his desert, and much better for him to have accepted, then to be confined to a loathsome prison, and for want of judgement, had his suffering been less then loss of life, he had not been worthy of pity. But *Jupiter quos vult perdere, hos dementat;* he would to the Tower, from whence he never returned, rather than accept of an honourable imployment, from whence he might not only have returned, but done his friends acceptable service, either in private or publick. 70.

In his managing of this businesse, that wisdome which formerly he had beene esteemed for, suffered under the censure of wise men as well as fools. Having him now fast in prison, Herodias, by pleasing 71.

her Herod, must also ask and have his life; for *per scelus ad scelera tutior est via.* To that end, they preferred empoysoners to be servants to Sir Gervase Elwaies, then lieutenant of the Tower. This gentleman was ever held wise and honest, but unfortunate in having that place thrust upon him without his thought; he was also so religious, as few in the court did equal him; so wise, as he obtained the character of wise Sir Gervase Elwaies; yet neither could his wisdome, nor the opinion of his religion and honesty, prevent that fate. He was so ignorant of the plot, as he never dreamt of any such matter, until one day, as it should seem, Weston being told, Elwaies did know wherefore he was preferred unto him to wait on Overbury; he asked the lieutenant,
72. one day before dinner, Whether he should now do it? Elwaies asked him, What? Weston at that being somewhat abashed, Elwaies espying it, presently said, "No, not yet;" for he did believe there was something known to Weston, which was a secret to himself. Whereupon Elwaies could not

chew any meat, for chewing upon those words of Weston's, but instantly commanded his table to be voyded, and thence he went into his study, and sent for Weston to come unto him, examining him of the meaning of that question; at last, by fair meanes and threatening together, got the truth. Then Elwaies, as he well could, laid before Weston the horridness of the fact, the torments of hell, and the unassurance of his momentary enjoying of either reward or favour after the fact done, but that it must follow, so many personages of honor would never cabinet such a secret in his breast that might ruine them; at last made him so sensible of his danger in this life, but more sensible of the torments in the other, that Weston, falling on his knees, said, "O Lord, how good and gracious art thou, and thy mercy is above all thy works; for this day is salvation come to my soul, and I would not for all the world have had such a sin upon me:" giving the lieutenant humble thanks, that had been the instrument of saving his soul, by putting him off from so foul intentions.

The lieutenant having now thus renewed grace in him, by making him, as he thought, a new man said, "Thou and I have a dangerous part to act, yet be honest and true to me, and I doubt not, but with Gods help, we shall perform it well, both before God and the world." Weston faithfully promised him, and for a long time as faithfully
14. performed with him. The lieutenant willed him, to bring all such things as were sent him to give Overbury unto him, which he accordingly did. The lieutenant ever gave them to cats and dogs, which he ever had ready in his study for that purpose. Some dyed presently, some lay lingering a longer time; all which, with the jellies and tarts sent to Overbury, he cast into his privy, they destaining the very dishes.

This continued long, the earle ever sending to visit Overbury, assuring him he did not forget his release, which should not be long deferred, wherein most men did verily believe he meant both nobly and truly, though others conjectured his meaning was a dissolution. At last the countess sent for

Weston, reviling him, and calling him treacherous villain, for had he given those things sent he had not been now alive; vowing, she would be revenged on him; upon 15.
the very feare whereof, he then gave those poysons after sent without acquainting the lieutenant; yet for all this schooling of Weston, and his assurance given of his future fidelity to the countess, she would not trust him single any more, but put another coadjutor to him, one Frankelin, a verier villain then Weston, and truly they may be deemed very ill that could seek out such wicked instruments.

These two villains came into Overburies chamber, and found him in infinite torment, with contention between the strength of nature and the working of the poyson, and it being very like nature had gotten the better in that contention, by the thrusting out of boyls, botches, and blains, they fearing it might come to light upon the judgement of phisitians, that foule play had beene offered him, consented to stifle

him with the bed-cloaths, which accordingly was performed, and so ended his miser-
76. able life, with the assurance of the conspirators, that he dyed by poyson; none thinking otherwise, but these two murtherers.

Now was all, as they believed, quiet, and in the depth of security, and the earle and countess began to carry their loves more openly and impudently, so that the world did talk very loudly and broadly of this adulterous meeting; it must, from that ground, proceed to an adulterous marriage, as well to the wronging a young nobleman, as to the dishonour and shame of themselves; *but they must needs goe the devil drives:* yet know they not how handsome-
77. ly to effect this, but by making the king a party in this bawdy business, which was no hard matter to effect; for the kings eye began to wander after a new favourite, being satiated with the old. Therefore, for the bringing this bawdry to a marriage, the bishops must be principal actors, (as I know not in what bad action they would

not be lookers-on,) and the bishop of Winchester, an excellent civillian, and a very great scholler, must be the principal, for which his son was knighted; and will never lose that by-title of Sir Nullity Bilson.

For by a nullity of the first marriage must this second take place; for the canvassing whereof there were many meetings of the bishops and the prime civillians, in which there wanted no bribes from the lord, lady, and their friends, to have this nullity brought to pass, wherein the discourse would have better befitted the mouths of bawds and ruffians then the grave divines. Among them Bishop Neale, then bishop of Rochester, a creature and favourite of the house of Suffolk, took up a learned discourse in the science of bawdery, how many degrees in that science must produce a nullity, wherein were so many beastly expressions, as for modesty sake I will not recite them, being offensive to my very thoughts and memory. Aristotles problems was a modest discourse to this; and he appeared to be better studi-

ed in that then in divinity; and, to wind up his learned discourse, concluded, all those met in this lord (meaning Essex) and lady.

The archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, to his everlasting fame, mainly opposed all the proceedings, and protested against them,
79. for which he ever after lived in disgrace, excluded from the council table, and dyed in the disgrace of the king on earth, though in favour with the king of kings.

Yet, forsooth, to make up the full measure of bawdery, and to justifie Neales discourse, that all things in the former marriage conduced to a nullity, a search must be made, to find whether there had beene a penetration, and a jury of grave matrons were found fit for that purpose, who, with their spectacles, ground to lessen, not to make the letter larger, after their inspection, gave verdict, she was *intacta virgo*, which was thought very strange; for the world took notice, that her way was very near beaten so plain, as if *regia via*, and in truth, was a common way before Somerset

did ever travell that way; besides, the world took notice, they two long had lived in adultery, yet had old Kettle a trick for that also.

The lady of Essex, for modesty sake, 80.
makes humble suit to the reverend bawdy bishops, (who were also plotters in this stratagem,) that she might not appear bare-faced for blushing; but desired to come vailed with a taffity over her face. This by all means was thought so reasonable, for a pretty modest lady, that the bawdy bishops, and pur-blind ladies, which had forgotten modesty themselves, could not think it worthy the denial. One mistris Fines, near kins-woman to old Kettle, was dressed up in the countesses cloathes, at
that time too young to be other then *virgo* 81.
intacta, though within two years after, had the old ladies made their inspection, the orifice would not have appeared so small, to have delivered such a verdict as they did, and a just one upon their view; though upon some of their knowledges it was not that lady they were to give verdict upon,

If any make doubt of the truth of this story, the author delivers upon the reputation of
S. W. B. a gentleman, he had it *verbatim* from a knight, otherwise of much honor, though the very dependency on that family may question it, which did usher the lady into the place of inspection, and hath told it often to his friends in mirth.

Now is the nullity pronounced, and the marriage with Somerset with speed solemnized, for which they and the whole family of Suffolk paid dear in aftertime, and had sower sauce to that sweet meat of their great son-in-law.[1]

[1] The marriage was celebrated with great outward splendour, but gave rise to much murmuring among the people.

"This discontent gave many satyrical wits occasion to vent themselves in stinging libels, in which they spared neither the persons, families, nor most secret avowtries of that unfortunate paire. There came also two anagrams to my handes, not unworthie to be owned by the rarest witts of this age, though the first be resolved into somewhat too broad an expression for soe nobly an extracted ladie:

Francis Howard,
Car finds a whore,

Thomas Overburie,
O O a busie murther."

And surely he was the most unfortunate 82.
man in that marriage, being as generally beloved for himselfe and disposition, as hated afterwards for his linking himselfe in that family; for in all the time of this mans favor, before this marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the state, or any base thing for his private gain; but whether it was his own nature that curbed him, or that there was then a brave prince living, and a noble queene that did awe him, we cannot so easily judge, because, after this marriage and their death, he did many ill things.

In this favourites flourishing time, came over the Palsgrave to marry our kings daughter, which, for the present, gave much content, and with the general applause; yet it proved a most unfortunate match to him and his posterity, and all Christendome; 83.
for his alliance with so many great princes, put on him aspiring thoughts, and so ambitious was he, as not to content himselfe with his hereditary patrimony of one of the

greatest princes of Germany; but must aspire to a kingdome, believing that his great alliance would carry him through any enterprise, or bring him off with honor; in both which he failed, being cast out of his own country with shame, and he and his, ever after, living upon the devotion of other princes. But had his father-in-law spent half the mony in swords which he did in words, for which he was but scorned, it had kept him in his owne inheritance, and had saved much Christian bloud since shed; but whiles he, being wholly addicted to peace, spent much treasure, in sending costly em-
94. bassadours to treat his enemies, (which he esteemed friends,) might have sent armies with a lesse charge to conquer; so that it may be concluded, that this, then thought the most happy match in Christendom, was the greatest unhappinesse to Christendom, themselves, and posterity.

And as if to foretell the sad event, presently after the gallantry and triumphing of that marriage, the kingdome was clad

all in mourning, for the sad obsequies of that most hopefull Prince Henry, who died not without vehement suspicion of poyson; and I wish I could say, but supicion only; but our future discourse will tell you otherwayes. He was only shewed to this nation as the land of Canaan was to Moses, to look on, not to enjoy; we did indeed joy in that happinesse we expected in him, but God found us so unthankful, and took so lightly 85
the death of that ever-famous Queen Elizabeth, as he did intend to make us an example of scorn now, that were formerly of all glory.

Prince Henry and Salisbury's death.

His death was foretold by one Bruce, a most famous astrologer of the Scottish nation, for which the Earle of Salisbury, a great statesman, caused him to be banished, who left this farewell with the earle, that it should be too true; yet his lordship should not see it, the earle dying in May, the prince in November next following, to the infinite griefe of all the kingdome, but the earle of Somerset and the family of Howards, who, by his death, thought themselves secured

from all future dangers; for he, being a prince of an open heart, hating all basenesse, would often say, if ever he were king, he would not leave one of that family to piss against a wall.

86. This brave prince being dead, Somerset and that faction bear all down before them, disposing of all offices, (yet Somerset never turned any out as did the succeeding favourite,) but places being void, he disposed of them, and who would give most was the word; yet not by Somerset himselfe, but by his lady and her family, for he was naturally of a noble disposition, and it may be justly said of him, that never could be said of any before, or ever will be of any after him;—he never got suit for himselfe or friends that was burthensome to the common-wealth—no monopolies, no impositions; yet in his time, and by his favor, though not for his use, were brought into the court two meane fellowes, grand projectors, the one Ingram, an ordinary waiter of the customs, the other Cranfield, an ap-

Ingram and Cranfield, projectors.

prentice, who had served three broken ci- 87.
tizens, and it is probable, by his wit and honesty, he might thrive by them all, and lay that for a foundation of his future projecting; the one a creature of Northamptons, the other of the house of Suffolk; and these like ill birds defiled their owne nests, and discovered the secrets of the custom-house; yet their projects seemed for the kings profit only, though much water run by his mill, and Suffolk did very well lick his owne fingers. For Salisbury being dead, Suffolk was treasurer, the proper place for customs, and his son-in-law chamberlaine and favourite; and then what could not they two do?

Yet Somerset ever kept them but like projectors, which after favorites raised to the degrees of nobility. Only Suffolk, by Somersets power, made Ingram cofferer of the kings house, which was the first appa- 88.
rent step to Somersets downfal: for however the king made fair semblance to maintain that act, yet made he the Earle of Kelly

his instrument to set the officers of his household to petition against it, and ever from the kings own directions to take their instructions, in which one of the principall given was, not to seek to Somerset upon any terms, nay, to deny to accept his favor, though offered to disannul his own act; but to carry it with an high hand against Somerset, by which assurance was given of prevailing; here was pretty juggling, (the courte being then but an academy of juglers.) Somerset did often court the officers to make him that Achilles his weapon, that could wound and heal againe, but was entertained with scorn; yet ambition so dazled his eyes, he could not see the precipice on which he stood ready
89. for his downfall; for surely no astrologers could have given him truer notions of his ruin than this: Cranfield, the other projector, soared higher, though not in Somersets time could he have his feathers imped, but Buckingham after did so impe them, that Cranfield endeavoured to pull

out his, and gave him the first affront. By this you may perceive how the times altered from better to worse, and so fittest for worthless men.

For now began to appeare a glimering of a new favorite, one Mr George Villers, a younger son by a second venter, of an ancient knight in Leicestershire, as I take it, his father of an ancient family, his mother of a mean, and a waiting gentlewoman, whom the old man fell in love with and married, by whom he had three sons, all raised to the nobility by meanes of their own brother favourite. This gentleman was come also but newly from travel, and did believe it a great fortune to marry a daughter of Sir Roger Astons, and in truth, it was the height of his ambition, and for that only end was an hanger-on upon the court. The gentlewoman loved him so well, as could all his friends have made her, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks joynture, she had married him presently, in despight of all her friends; and, no question,

Mr George Villers a favourite.

90.

would have had him without any joynture at all.

But as the fates would have it, before the closing up of this match, the king cast a glancing eye towards him, which was easily perceived by such as observed their princes humour, and then the match was laid aside,
91. some assuring him a greater fortune was coming to him; then one gave him his place of cup-bearer, that he might be in the kings eye; another sent to his mercer and taylor to put good cloathes on him; a third to his sempster for curious linnen, and all as incomes to obtain offices upon his future rise; then others tooke upon them to be his bravoes, to undertake his quarrells upon affronts put upon him by Somersets faction: so all hands helped to the piecing up this new favourite.

Then began the king to eat abroad, who formerly used to eat in his bed-chamber, or if by chance supped in his bed-chamber, after supper would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir Ed. Souch, Sir

George Goring, and Sir John Finit,[1] were the chiefe and master fools, and surely this fooling got them more then any others wisdome, far above them in desert. Souch his part it was to sing bawdy songs, and tell bawdy tales—Finit to compose these songs; then were a set of fidlers brought up on purpose for this fooling; and Goring was mas- 92

[1] Little is known of the various personages in this most extraordinary drama. Sir John Finet was Master of Ceremonies, and author of the curious works upon Points of Ceremony and Precedence, entitled, *Fineti Filixensis*. These gambols were, at the worst, a more decent amusement than was preferred for the royal approbation by the Duke of Buckingham, upon an occasion commemorated by Wilson.—"Our king receiving so many delays and dissatisfactions from Spain and Rome, they begot him so much trouble and vexation, that, crowding into his thoughts, pressed upon his natural temper some fits of melancholy, which those about him with facetious mirth would strive to mitigate; and having exhausted their inventions, or not making use of such as were more pregnant, the marquis and his mother (instead of mirth) fell upon profaneness, thinking with that to please him, and perhaps they were only mistaken in the unseasonableness of the time, being not then sutable to the humour. For they caused Mrs Aspernham, a young gentlewoman of the kindred, to dress a pig like a child, and the old countess, like a midwife, brought it into the king in a rich

ter of the game for fooleries, some time presenting David Droman, and Archie Armstrong,[1] the kings fool, on the back of the

mantle. Turpin, that married one of the kindred, (whose name was renowned for a bishop of the emperor Charlemain,) was dressed like a bishop in his sattin gown, lawn sleeves, and other pontifical ornaments, who (with the Common Prayer Book) began the words of baptism, one attending with a silver basin of water for the service; the king hearing the ceremonies of baptism read, and the squeaking noise of that brute he most abhorred, turned himself to see what pageant it was; and finding Turpin's face, which he well knew, dressed like a bishop, and the marquis, whose face he most of all loved, stand as a god-father, he cried out, 'Away, for shame, what blasphemy is this?' And turning aside with a frown, he gave them cause to think that such ungodly mirth would rather increase than cure his melancholy." —WILSON'S *Life of King James*, apud *Kennet*, ii. 760.

[1] Archy or Archibald Armstrong, the most noted person in this drama, was the last professed court-jester, or royal fool. He lost his office at the time of the civil wars, when matters grew too hot for joking, and it was unnecessary to revive it at the restoration, Charles II. being his own jester. Archy was a Cumberland man by birth, and seems to have possessed all the wit necessary for his office, though without the caution which should have guided his sarcasm. Osborne has already told us he was tossed in a blanket by Prince Henry's attendants, for pointing out to King James the popular retinue which followed his son. Archy, taught perhaps by experience, was more fortunate in cultivating the

other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes the proper-

favour of Charles, while heir apparent; and, as appears from the following anecdote, followed him on his romantic expedition to the Spanish court.

"Our cousin Archy hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat where the infanta is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists.

"One day they were discoursing what a marvellous thing it was, that the Duke of Bavaria, with less than 15,000 men, after a long and toilsome march, should dare to encounter the Palsgrave's army, consisting of above 25,000, and to give them an utter discomfiture, and take Prague presently after: Whereunto Archy answered, that he would tell him a stranger thing than that. Was it not a strange thing, quoth he, that in the year 88, there should come a fleet of 140 sail from Spain to England, and that 10 of these could not come back to tell what became of the rest?"—HOWEL'S *Letters*, p. 136.

Archy was not only a wit but a patriot; and having no great favour for Archbishop Laud, he ventured to give vent to his dislike in the following punning grace: "All praise to God, and little *Laud* to the deel." But when he ventured upon a very trying occasion to carry his freedom still farther, he found his fool's coat no protection for his knavish wit. The incident is thus told by Rushworth:

"At this time news came from Scotland, that the kings proclamation, dated the 19th of February, published at Striveling the beginning of March, wherein

ty was presented by them in antick dances. But Sir Jo. Millisent, who was never known before, was commended for notable fool-

his majesty declares, that he ordained the Book of Common Prayer to be compiled for edification of the kings subjects in Scotland, and to maintain the true religion already professed there.

" And it so happened, that on the 11th of the said March, that Archibald, the kings fool, said to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, as he was going to the Council-Table, ' Whea's feule now? Doth not your grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy?' with other words of reflection; this was presently complained of to the council, which produced this ensuing order:

" At White-hall, the 11th of March, 1637.

" It is this day ordered by his majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the kings fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the kings service, and banished the court, for which the Lord Chamberlain of the kings houshold is prayed and required to give order to be executed; and immediately the same was put in execution."—RUSHWORTH's *Historical Collections*, ii. 470.

Archy's occupation being thus ended, he is said to have retired to his native parish of Arthuret, in Cumberland, where he remained until he was joined unto Yorick and the jesters of other days.

ing; and so was he indeed the best extemporary fool of them all. With this jollity was this favourite ushered in. This made the house of Suffolk fret, and Somerset carried himselfe now more proudly, and his bravado's, ever quarrelling with the others, which by his office of Lord Chamberlain for a while carried it; but Somersets using of Sir Ralph Wynwood (whom himself brought in for a secretary of state) in so scornful a manner, (he having only the title, the earl himselfe keeping the seals, and doing the businesse,) made Wynwood endeavor to ruine him, who soon got an opportunity, by frequenting the Countess of Shrewsbury, then prisoner in the Tower, who told Wynwood on a time, that Overbury was poysoned, which she understood from Sir Gervase Elwaies, who did labor by her meanes to deal with her two sons-in-law, Arundel and Pembroke, (Wynwood also being great with that faction,) that when it came into question, he might save his own stake, who truly was no otherwise guilty, but that he did not discover it 93.

at Westons first disclosing it, (he being keeper of the prison.) So, by inference, his
94. not disclosing it was Overburies death; and had he revealed it then, I dare say he had been brought into the Star-chamber for it, and undone, (for yet was not the time fit for discovery.) Wynwood, it was thought, acquainted the king with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of Somerset; yet the king durst not bring it in question, nor any question would have been, had not Somerset thought to cross him in his passion of love to his new favourite, in which the king was more impatient then any woman to enjoy her love.

Not long after, Thrumbal, agent at Bruxels, had by an apothecaries boy, one Reeve, (after an apothecary himself in London, and dyed very lately,) gotten hold of this poysoning businesse; for Reeve, having under his master, made some of those des-
95. perate medicines, either run away, or else his master sent him out of the way, and fell in company of Thrumbals servants at

Bruxels, to whom he revealed it, they to their master, who examining the boy, discovered the truth. Thrumbal presently wrote to Secretary Wynwood he had businesse of consequence to discover, but would not send it, therefore desired licence to come over. The king would not yield to his return, but willed him to send an express. That Thrumbal utterly refused, and very wisely; for had any thing appeared under his hand, the boy might have dyed or run away, and then had he made himselfe the author of that, which the courtesie of another must have justified.

The king being of a longing disposition, rather then he would not know, admitted Thrumbals return, and now had they good testimony by the apothecary, who revealed Weston, Mrs Turner, and Franklyn to be principal agents; yet this (being near the time of progress) was not stirred in till about Michaelmas. Yet Wynwood did now carry himselfe in a braving way of contestation against Somerset, struck in with the 96.

faction of Villers; and now, on progress, the king went westward, where he was feasted at Cranborn by a son-in-law of that family; at Lulworth and Binden, by the Lord Walden; at Charlton, by Sir Thomas Howard; and nothing but one factione braving the other. Then was the king feasted at Purbeck by the Lord Hatton, who was of the contrary faction; and at a joynture house of Sir George Villers mother, called Gotly, where he was magnificently entertained.

91. After all this feasting, homeward came the king, who desired by all meanes to reconcile this clashing between his declining and rising favourite; to which end, at Lulworth, the king imployed Sir Humphrey May, a great servant to Sommerset, and a wise servant to Villers; but with such instructions, as if it came from himselfe, and Villers had order presently after Sir Humphrey May's return, to present himself and service to Somerset. "My Lord, (said he) Sir Geo. Villers will come to you to offer his

service, and desire to be your creature, and therefore refuse him not, embrace him, and your lordship shall still stand a great man, though not the sole favourite." My lord seemed averse; Sir Humphrey then told him in plain termes, that he was sent by the king to advise it, and that Villers would come to him to cast himselfe into his protection, to take his rise under the shadow 98.
of his wings. Sir Humphrey May was not parted from my lord half an hour, but in comes Sir George Villers, and used these very words: "My Lord, I desire to be your servant and your creature, and shall desire you to take my court preferment under your favour, and your lordship shall find me as faithfull a servant unto you as ever did serve you." My lord returned this quick and short answer: "I will none of your service, and you shall none of my favor. I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident." This was but an harsh compliment, and savoured more of spirit then wisdom; and since that time,

breaking each others necks was their aims, and it's verily believed, had Somerset complied with Villers, Overbury's death had still layn raked up in his owne ashes; but God, who will never suffer murther to go unpunished, will have what he will, maugre all the wisdome of the world.

99. To Windsor doth the king return to end his progress; from thence to Hampton-Court, then to White-Hall, and shortly after to Royston, to begin his winter journey.

And now begins the game to be plaid, in which Somerset must be the loser; the cards being shuffled, cut, and dealt between the king and Sir Edward Cook, chief justice, whose daughter Purbeck, Villers his brother had married, or was to marry, and therefore a fit instrument to ruine Somerset and Secretary Wynwood. These all plaid: the stake, Somersets life, and his ladies, and their fortunes, and the family of Suffolk; some of them plaid booty, and in truth, the game was not plaid above board. The

day the king went from White-Hall to Theobalds, and so to Royston, the king sent for all the judges, (his lords and servants encircling him,) where, kneeling down in the midst of them, he used these very words: 100.

"My Lords, the Judges, it is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a business of poysoning. Lord, in what a most miserable condition shall this kingdome be, (the only famous nation for hospitality in the world,) if our tables should become such a snare, as none could eat without danger of life, and that Italian custome should be introduced amongst us! Therefore, my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadfull day of judgement, that you examine it strictly without favor, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, Gods curse light on you and your posterity: and if I spare any that are found guilty, Gods curse light on me and my posterity, for ever!"—But how this 101. dreadfull thunder-curse or imprecation was

performed shall be shewed hereafter; and I pray God, the effect be not felt amongst us even at this day, (as it hath been, I fear, on that virtuous Lady Elizabeth and her children;) for God treasures up such imprecations and deprecations, and pours them out when a nation least dreams, even when they cry, Peace, peace, to their souls; and it may well be, (at this time our other sins concurring,) that he is pouring them out upon king, judges, and the whole state.

It appeares how unwilling the king was to ruine Somerset, a creature of his owne making, *sed immedicabile vulnus, ense rescindendum est.* Grace was offered by the king, had he had grace to have apprehended it.

102. The king with this took his farewell for a time of London, and was accompanied with Somerset to Royston, where no sooner he brought him, but instantly took his leave, little imagining what viper lay among the herbs. Nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the king was in the art of dis-

simulation, or, to give it his own phrase, king-craft. The Earle of Somerset never parted from him with more seeming affection than at this time, when he knew Somerset should never see him more; and had you seen that seeming affection, (as the author himselfe did,) you would rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. The earle, when he kissed his hand, the king hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying. "For Gods sake, when shall I see thee againe? On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again." The earle told him on Monday, (this being on the Friday,) "For Gods sake, let me," said the king—"Shall I, shall I?" then lolled about his neck. "Then, for Gods sake, give thy lady this kiss for me." In the same manner at the stayres head, at the middle of the stayres, and at the stayres foot. The earl was not in his coach when the king used these very words, (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was Somersets great creature, and of the Bed-

K. James his parting with Somerset.

103.

Chamber, who reported it instantly to the author of this history,) "I shall never see his face more." I appeale to the reader, whether his motto of, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*, was not as well performed in this passage, as his *beati pacifici*, in the whole course of his life; and his love to the latter, made him to be beaten with his own weapon in the other, by all princes and states that had to do with him.

104. But before Somersets approach to London, his countess was apprehended; at his arrival, himself; and the king being that night at supper, said to Sir Thomas Monson, "My Lord Chief Justice hath sent for you." He asked the king when he should wait on him againe? who replyed, "You may come when you can." And (as in the story of Byron, and many others) there have been many foolish observations, as presage, so was there in this gentleman, who was the kings Mr Faulconer, and, in truth, such a one, as no prince in Christendom had; for what flights other princes had, he would

excell them for his master, in which one was at the kite.

The French sending over his faulconers, to shew that sport, his master faulconer lay long here, but could not kill one kite, ours being more magnanimous then the French kite. Sir Thomas Monson desired to have that flight in all exquisitenes, and to that end was at 1000*l.* charge in ger-faulcons for that flight; in all that charge he never had but one cast would perform it; and those had killed nine kites, never missed one. The Earle of Pembroke, with all the lords, desired the king but to walk out of Royston towns end, to see that flight, which was one of the most stateliest flights of the world, for the high mountee. The king went unwillingly forth, the flight was shewed; but the kite went to such a mountee, as all the field lost sight of kite, and hawk, and all, and neither kite nor hawk were either seen or heard of to this present, which made all the court conjecture it a very ill omen.

Sir Thomas Monson an excellent faulconer. 105.

So that you see the plot was so well laid,

106. as they should be all within the toyle at one instant, not knowing of each other. Now are in hold, the earl, his countess, Sir Thomas Monson, Mistris Turner, (a very lewd and infamous woman of life,) Weston and Franklyn, with some others of less note, of which one Symon, a servant of Sir Thomas Monson, who was imployed in carrying jelly and tart to the Tower; who, upon his examination, for his pleasant answer was instantly dismissed. My lord told him, "Symon, you have a hand in this poysoning business."—"No, my good lord, I had but one finger in it, which almost cost me my life, and at the best, cost me all my hair and nails;" for the truth was, Symon was somewhat liquorish, and finding the sirrup swim from the top of a tart as he carryed, he did with his finger skim it off; and it was to be believed, had he known what it had been, he would not have been
107. his taster at so dear a rate; and that you may know Symons interest with that family, I shall tell you a true story.

Sir Thomas Monson was a great lover of musick, and had as good as England had, especially for voyces, and was at infinite charge in breeding some in Italy. This Symon was an excellent musician, and did sing delicately, but was a more generall musician than ever the world had; but in one kind he surpassed all. He had a catzo of an immense length and bigness; with this, being his tabor-stick, his palm of his hand his tabor, and his mouth his pipe, he would so imitate a tabor-pipe, as if it had been so indeed. To this musick would Mrs Turner, the young ladies, and some of that ging, dance ever after supper. The old lady, who loved that musick as well as her daughters, would sit and laugh; she could scarce sit for laughing; and it 108.
was believed that some of them danced after that pipe without the tabor. His master coming to hear of it, turned him away, but was infinitely importuned to take him again, but would not. He could not have wanted a service elsewhere; but he never

durst use his pipe amongst them for their dancing recreation, however he might for any other.

And now poor Mrs Turner, Weston, and Franklyn began the tragedy, Mrs Turners day of mourning being better than the day of her birth, for she dyed very penitently, and shewed much modesty in her last act, which is to be hoped was accepted with God. After that dyed Weston, and then was Franklyn arraigned, who confessed that Overbury was smothered to death, not poysoned to death, though he had poyson given him.

109. Here was Cook glad, how to cast about to bring both ends together, Mrs Turner and Weston being already hanged for killing Overbury with poyson; but he being the very quintessence of law, presently informs the jury, that if a man be done to death with pistols, poniards, swords, halter, poyson, &c. so he be done to death, the indictment is good, if but indicted for any of those ways; but the good lawyers of

those times were not of that opinion, but did believe that Mrs Turner was directly murthered by my Lord Cooks law, as Overbury was without any law.

In the next place comes the countesse to her tryal, at whose arraignment, as also at Mrs Turners before, were shewed many pictures, puppits, &c. with some exorcisms and magick spells, which made them appeare more odious, as being known to converse with witches and wizzards; and among those tricks, Formans book was shewed. This Forman was a fellow dwelt in Lambeth, a very silly fellow, yet had wit enough to cheate ladies and other women, by pretending skill in telling their fortunes, as whether they should bury their husbands, and what second husbands they should have, and whether they should enjoy their loves, or whether maids should get husbands, or enjoy their servants to themselves without corrivals; but before he would tell any thing, they must write their names to his alphabetical book with their owne hand 110.

writing. By this trick, he kept them in awe, if they should complain of his abusing them, as in truth he did nothing else. Besides, it was believed, some meetings were
111. at his house, wherein the art of a bawd was more beneficial to him then that of a conjurer, and that he was a better artist in the one then other; and that you may know his skil, he was himselfe a cuckold, having a very pretty wench to his wife, which would say, she did it to try his skill, but it fared with him as with astrologers that cannot foresee their owne destiny. I well remember there was much mirth made in the court upon the shewing this book; for it was reported, the first leafe my Lord Cook lighted on he found his owne wives name.

The next that came on the stage was Sir Thomas Monson; but the night before he was to come to his tryal, the king being at the game of maw, said, "To-morrow comes Thomas Monson to his tryal."—"Yea,"
* s. h. m. said the kings * card-holder, "where, if he

doe not play his masters prize, your majesty 112.
shall never trust me." This so run in the kings mind, as the next game, he said he was sleepy, and would play out that set next night. The gentleman departed to his lodging, but was no sooner gone but the king sent for him. What communication they had, I know not, (yet it may be, can more easily guess then any other;) but it is most certain, next under God, that gentleman saved his life, for the king sent a post presently to London, to let the Lord Chiefe Justice know he would see Monsons examination and confession, to see if it were worthy to touch his life for so small a matter. Monson was too wise to set any thing but fair in his confession: what he would have stab'd with, should have been *viva voce*, at his arraignment. The king sent word, he saw nothing worthy of death or of bonds in his accusation or examination. Cook was so mad he could not 113.
have his will of Monson, that he said, "Take him away, we have other matters against him of an higher nature." With

which words, out issues about a dozen warders of the Towēr, and took him from the barre; and Cooks malice was such against him, as though it rained extreamly, and Monson not well, he made him goe a-foot from the Guild-Hall to the Tower, which almost cost him his life. There he lay a close prisoner above three months, to the end to get a recorders place, (that Cranfield desired,) every man thinking him in some treason, would not lend him any money, and if so much money had not been paid by such a time, his place had been forfeited. And in this, let me commend the part of a true friend in Sir Humphrey May, who, in 24 hours (after Sir Thomas his
114. deep sensiblenesse of all other his friends deserting him in that great exigency) made his brother Herick take up 2000*l.* and pay it, to savè his office, without so much as any security from Sir Thomas Monson, (for he was closè prisoner,) or from any friend of his; and that you may know it was for his office only this hard measure was shewed him, the money was no sooner

paid, but his friends might come unto him. And I must not let passe the skill of the Lord Loriskine, a Scotchman, who long before, by his physiognomy, told Sir George Marshall, that Sir Thomas Monson would escape hanging nearer then ever any man did; which was true, for he was twice brought to his tryal, put himselfe both times upon his country, yet was only indicted, never tried, and yet he had harder measure then ever any man had; for he lost 115.
his office, being but indicted, and not condemned, which is without any president.

And now for the last act enters Somerset himselfe on the stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the lieutenant, that he must provyde to goe next day to his tryal) did absolutely refuse it, and said, they should carry him in his bed; that the king had assured him he should not come to any tryal, neither durst the king bring him to tryal. This was in an high strain, and in a language not well understood by Sir George Moore, (then lieutenant in Elwaies his room,) that made Moore qui-

ver and shake; and however he was accounted a wise man, yet he was neare at his wits end.

Yet away goes Moore to Greenewich, as late as it was, (being twelve at night;) bounseth at the back stayres as if mad,
116. to whome came Jo: Loveston, one of the grooms, out of his bed, enquires the reason of that distemper at so late a season. Moore tells him he must speak with the king. Loveston replyes, "He is quiet;" (which, in the Scottish dialect, is fast asleep.) Moore says, "You must awake him." Moore was called in, (the chamber left to the king and Moore.) He tells the king those passages, and desired to be directed by the king, for he was gone beyond his owne reason, to heare such bold and undutiful expressions from a faulty subject against a just soveraigne. The king falls into a passion of tears: "On my soule, Moore, I wot not what to do! thou art a wise man, help me in this great straight, and thou shalt finde thou dost it for a thankful master," with other sad expressions. Moore leaves the king in that

passion, but assures him he will prove the utmost of his wit to serve his majesty; and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him 1500*l.*, (although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one half; so was there falshood in friendship.) 117.

Sir George Moore returns to Somerset about three next morning, of that day he was to come to triall, enters Somersets chamber, tells him he had been with the king, found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him: "But, (said he,) to satisfie justice, you must appeare, although returne instantly againe, without any further proceedings, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you." With this trick of wit he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the hall; yet feared his former bold language might revert againe, and being brought by this trick into the toile, might have more inraged him to fly out into some strange disco- Somersets tryall. 118.

very; for prevention whereof he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving them withall a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hood-wink him with that cloak, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; for which he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward. But the earle, finding himselfe over-reached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his tryall, where he held the company untill seven at night. But who had seen the kings restlesse motion all that day, sending to every
119. boat he saw landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds for his feares of Somersets boldnesse; but at last one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet. This is the very relation from Moores owne mouth, and this told *verbatim*, in Wanstead Parke, to two

gentlemen (of which the author was one) who were both left by him to their own freedome, without engaging them, even in those times of high distemperatures, unto a faithful secresie in concealing it; yet, though he failed in his wisdome, they failed not in that worth inherent in every noble spirit, never speaking of it till after the kings death.

And there were other strong inducements to believe Somerset knew that by the king he desired none other in the world should be partaker of, and that all was not peace 120.
within in the peace-maker himselfe; for he ever courted Somerset to his dying day, and gave him 4000*l.* per annum for fee-farme rents after he was condemned, which he took in his servants name, not his owne, (as then being condemned, not capable of,) and he then resolved never to have a pardon. I have heard it credibly reported, he was told by a wizzard, that could he but come to see the kings face againe, he should be re-invested in his former dearnesse with him. This had been no hard experiment, but belike he had too much religion, to trust

to wizzards, or else some friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that he had little reason to put confidence in them.

121. Many beleeved him guilty of Overburies death, but the most thought him guilty only of the breach of friendship, (and that in a high point,) by suffering his imprisonment, which was the high way to his murther; and this conjecture I take to be of the soundest opinion; for by keeping him out of the action, (if it were discovered,) his greatnesse, fortified with innocency, would carry their nocencies through all dangers. For the gentleman himselfe, he had misfortune enough to marry such a woman, in such a family, which first undermined his honor, afterwards his life, (at least to be dead in law;) nor did any thing reflect upon him in all his time of favourite; but in, and by that family; first in his adulterous marriage, then in so hated a family; and the bringing in Cranfield and Ingram, as projectors, all by his wives and friends means.

122. Otherwise, had he beene the bravest favo-

rite of our time, full of majesty, imploying his time like a statesman, and the king kept correspondency with him by letters, almost weekly, to his dying day.

And here have we brought this great mans glory to its period, with his fatal countesse, who some years after it, dyed miserably at Chiswick. Mris Turner, Weston, Franklyn, and Elwaies dyed in the Tower, Weston ever saying, it never troubled him to dye for the blue ribbonds sake: And so was concluded that grand businesse, the grosse production of a then foule state and court, wherein pride, revenge, and luxury abounded. Yet, and its verily beleeved, when the king made those terrible imprecations on himselfe, and deprecations of the judges, it was intended the law should run in its proper channel, but was stopt and put out of course by the folly of that great clerke, though no wise man, Sir Edward Cook; who, in a vaine-glorious speech, to shew his vigilance, enters into a rapture, as he sate on the bench, saying, "God knows 123.

what became of that sweet babe Prince Henry, (but I know somewhat;)" and surely, in searching the cabinets, he lighted on some papers, that spake plain in that which was ever whispered; which, had he gone on in a gentle way, would have falne in of themselves, not to have been prevented; but this folly of his tongue stopt the breath of that discovery of that so foule a murder, which, I fear, cries still for vengeance.[1]

[1] Dr Birch has drawn together, in the life of Prince Henry, the several testimonies of their contemporary writers, who affirmed that he died by poison, and concludes, by drawing a just and solid conclusion, that there was no other reason for such reports, than the general regret for his death, and the evil opinion entertained of his father's favourite.

"The immature death of the prince concurring with the public apprehension of the power of the papists, and the ill opinion which the nation then had of the court, gave immediate rise to suspicions of its being hastened by poison. And these suspicions were heightened by the very little concern shewn by some persons in great stations. 'To tell you,' says Richard, Earl of Dorset, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes, of the 23d of November, 1612, 'that our rising sun is set ere scarcely he had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried; you know and do lament as well as we, and better than some do, and more truly, or else you are

And now begins the new favorite to reign, without any concurrent; now he rises in ho-

not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss.' And it is certain, that this loss made so little impression upon the king and his favourite, that the Lord Viscount Rochester, on the 9th of November, three days after it, wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes to begin a negotiation for a marriage between Prince Charles and the second daughter of France. But the ambassador, who had more sense of decency, thought it improper to enter upon such an affair so soon after the late prince's death. Mr Beaulieu, secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, in a letter of the 12th of November, 1612, to Mr Trumbull, then resident at Brussels, after stiling the prince 'the flower of the house, the glory of his country, and the admiration of all strangers, which in all places had imprinted a great hope on the minds of the well-affected, as it had already stricken terror into the hearts of his enemies,' adds, 'who perhaps (for of this lamentable accident we have yet no particular relation) fearing the growing virtues of that young prince have used the traitorous venom of their abominable practises to cut him off in his youth. And this I do not apprehend without a cause, considering the several advertisements which I saw a month ago coming out of England, Holland, and Calais, of strange rumours which were in those parts of some great and imminent practise in hand, for the success whereof it was written, that in some places our adversaries had made solemn prayers: and out of Calais it was especially advertised, that in your parts they were in expectation of the death of some great prince. But, alas! we did little apprehend,

nor, as well as swells with pride, breaking
124. out of the modest bounds, which formerly

that such ominous prognostications would have lighted upon that vigorous young prince, whose extraordinary great parts and virtues made many men hope and believe that God had reserved and destined him as a chosen instrument, to be the standard-bearer of his quarrel in these miserable times, to work the restoration of his church, and the destruction of the Romish idolatry.' Mr Robert Naunton, who was at this time soliciting a public employment, and, in January, 1617-8, advanced to that of Secretary of State, in a letter from London, of the 17th of November, 1612, to Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador to the States General, has likewise a very remarkable passage. 'Touching our palladium, which we have lost, I hold it neither fit to write what I conceive, and less fit to be written to your lordship. It is given out by his confidants, that he had a design to have come over with the Palsgrave, and have drawn Count Maurice along with him, with some promises, and done some exploit upon the place, that shot the Palsgrave's harbinger, and haply to have seen the Landgrave's daughter, or I know not what: That this he meant to have done, whatsoever it was, *clam patrem et senatum suum,* and hatching some such secret design, which was made subject to misconstruction, it is now become abortive like that of Henry IV. of France. Sir Henry Neville told me he had vowed, that never idolater should come into his bed: and I was ascertained, that in his sickness he applied this chastisement for a deserved punishment upon him, for having ever opened his ears to admit treaty of a popish match.' Sir An-

had impaled him, to the high way of pride and scorne, turning out and putting in all

thony Weldon suggests that the prince was poisoned; and Mr Arthur Wilson countenances that notion, which is likewise adopted by Dr Wellwood; who, in his Memoirs, likewise, after stiling the prince 'the darling of mankind, and a youth of vast hopes and wonderful virtues,' remarks, that it was the general rumor at the time of his death, that his highness was poisoned; and that there is in print, a sermon preached at St James's upon the dissolution of his family, that boldly insinuated some such thing. By this sermon, Dr Wellwood must mean that of Mr Hall, cited above; in which, however, at least, as it is reprinted in the London edition of his works, in 1617, in fol., I have not met with any expression that carries the least insinuation of that kind. The writer of the Memoirs adds, that Sir Francis Bacon, in his speech at the trial of the Earl of Somerset, had some reflections upon the intimacy of that lord with Sir Thomas Overbury, which seemed to point that way; there being several expressions left out of the printed copy that were in the speech. Bishop Burnet likewise tells us, that he was assured by Col. Titus, that he had heard King Charles I. declare, that the prince his brother was poisoned by the Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

"But it will be perhaps sufficient to oppose to all such suggestions the unanimous opinion of physicians, who attended the prince during his sickness, and opened his body after his death; from which, as Dr Wellwood himself observes, there can be no inference drawn that he was poisoned. To which may be added, the

he pleased. First, he must aspire to the admiralls office himselfe, and would not let the old gentleman [1] (so well deserving in that place) dye with that title; but the king must put himselfe to a great charge, to put out the better and take in the worse; yet, for all his immense greatnesse, would he never let him be admirall, until he had first settled Sir Robert Mansell vice-admiral of England, during his life, by patent; in which he not onely manifested his love to his noble friend, though sometime his servant, but his care to the state, that his experience and abilities might support the others inabilities, well knowing that the

authority of Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was well informed, and above all suspicion on this point, and who pronounces the rumours spread of his highness's having been poisoned vain: and was fully convicted that his death was natural, and occasioned by a violent fever." —BIRCH's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 404. See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*.

[1] George, Earl of Cumberland, who commanded the fleet of England against the invincible Armada. Various provisions made for himself, his wife, and family, were the considerations granted for the resignation of his office. See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*.

honour and safety of the kingdome consisted in the well-ordering and strength of the navy.

Next, Egerton had displeased him by not giving way to his exorbitant desires. He must out, and would not let him seale up his dying eyes with the seals which he had so long carryed, and so well discharged; and to despight him the more, and to vex his very soule in the last agony, he sent Bacon (one he hated yet, to be his successor) for the seals, which the old mans spirit could not brook, but sent them by his own servant to the king, and shortly after yeelded his soul to his Maker.[1] 125.

[1] This is inaccurate; the seals were taken from Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, at his own request. His affecting, though somewhat pedantic letter to James, dated 1612, is preserved among the Somers' Tracts, and concludes thus, after alleging many reasons for his proposed retirement:

"And soe I moste humblie beseech your most sacred majestie, graciouslye to regard the great age, infirmities, and impotencye of your most devoted, obedient, loyall, and faithfull poor servante. Lett me not be as Domitius after was: *maluit deficere quam desinere*; but with your princelie favour, give me leave to retire myselfe

And to the end you may know what men were made choyce of to serve turns, I shall set you downe a true story: This great favorite sent a noble gentleman, and of much worth, to Bacon with this message; that he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to serve his master in the keepers place; but he also knew him of a base and ingrateful disposition, and an arrant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruine any that had raised him from adversity;[1] yet for all this, he did so much

Buckingham's message to Bacon. 126.

from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small rempant of this my life in meditation and prayer; and I will never cease to make my humble supplications to Almighty God, to blesse and prosper your majestie, the queene, the prince, and all your royal issue, with all heavenlie and earthly felicitye, which is the last and best service your poore, aged, weake, and decayed servant can do for you."

[1] The dependence of the celebrated Bacon, during his first career, upon the unfortunate Earl of Essex, gave too much reason for branding his character with the foul stain of ingratitude. Essex was so much attached to him, that, being disappointed of obtaining a favour, which he besought from the queen in Bacon's behalf, he consoled his disappointment, by granting him the

study his masters service, (knowing how fit an instrument he might be for him,) that he had obtained the seals for him; but with this assurance, should he ever requite him, as he had done some others, to whom he had been more bound, he would cast him downe as much below scorn, as he had now raised him high above any honor he could ever have expected.

Bacon was at that time attorney-general, who patiently hearing this message, replyed, "I am glad my noble lord deals so friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choyce of so discreet and noble a friend, that hath delivered his message in so plaine language."—"But," saith he, "can my lord know these abilities in me, and can he thinke, when I have attained the highest preferment my professione is capable of,

Bacon's answer. 127.

park of Twitnam, which was his own property. A difference and coldness afterwards took place, in the course of which, Bacon so far forgot those former benefits, as to accept the duty of drawing up the declaration of Essex's treasons, which paved his unfortunate patron's way to the block.

I shall so much faile in my judgement and understanding, as to lose these abilities, and by my miscarriage to so noble a patron, cast myselfe headlong from the top of that honor to the very bottome of contempt and scorn? Surely my lord cannot think so meanly of me." The gentleman replyed, "I deliver you nothing from myselfe, but the words are put into my mouth by his lordship, to which I neither adde nor diminish; for, had it been left to my discretion, surely, though I might have given you the substance, yet should I have
128. apparelled it in a more modest attire; but, as I have faithfully delivered my lords to you, so will I as faithfully returne yours to his lordship."

You must understand the reason of this message was his ungratefulnesse to Essex, which every one could remember; for the earle saved him from starving, and he requited him so, as his apology must witness: Were there not a great fault, there needed no apology; nor could any age, but a worth-

less and corrupt, in men and manners, have thought him worthy such a place of honor.

Well, Lord Keeper he was, for which he paid nothing, nor was he able; for now was there a new trick to put in dishonest and necessitous men, to serve such turns as men of plentiful fortunes and fair reputations would not accept of; and this filled the church and common-wealth full of beggerly fellows, (such daring to venture on any thing,) having nothing to lose; (for it is riches makes men cowards, poverty daring and valiant, to adventure at any thing to get something.) Yet did not Buckingham doe things gratis, but what their purses could not stretch unto they paid in pensions out of their places, all which went to maintain his numerous beggerly kindred. Bacon paid a pension; Heath, atturney, paid a pension; Bargrave, dean, paid a pension, with many others. Nor was this any certain rule, for present portions must be raised, for the marriage of a poor kitchen-maid, to be made a great countesse; so Fo-

1629.

Buckingham's course to raise his kindred.

therby made bishop of Sarum, paid 3500*l.* and some also, worthy men, were preferred gratis, to blow up their fames, and trumpet
130. forth their nobleness, (as Tolson, a worthy man, paid nothing, in fine, or pension; after him, Davenant, in the same bishoprick;) but these were but as musick before every sceane; nor were fines or pensions certaine, but where men were rich, there fines without reservation of rent; where poore, and such as would serve turns, there pensions, no fines; so Weston, and many others. There were books of rates on all the offices, bishopricks, deanries in England, that could tell you what fines, what pensions, otherwise it had been impossible such a numerous kindred could have been maintained with the three kingdomes revenue.

Now was Bacon invested in his office, and within ten dayes after the king goes to
Bacon's pride. 131. Scotland. Bacon instantly begins to beleeve himselfe king, lyes in the kings lodgings, gives audience in the great banqueting house, makes all other counsellors at-

tend his motions, with the same state the king used to come out to give audience to ambassadors. When any other counsellor sate with him about the kings affaires, would (if they sate neare him) bid them know their distance; upon which, Secretary Wynwood rose, went away, and would never sit more, (under his encroached state,) but instantly dispatched one to the king, to desire him to make haste back, for even his very seat was already usurped. At which, I remember, the king reading it unto us, both the king and we were very merry; and if Buckingham had sent him any letters, would not vouchsafe the opening or reading them in publick, though, it was said, it requiring speedy dispatch, nor would vouchsafe him any answer. In this posture he lived until he heard the king was returning, and began to beleeve the play was 1632.
almost at an end, he might personate a kings part no longer, and therefore did againe re-invest himselfe with his old rags of basenesse, which were so tattered and poore at

the kings coming to Windsor; he attended two days at Buckinghams chamber, being not admitted to any better place, then
He is scorned. the room where trencher-scrapers and laquies attended, there sitting upon an old wooden chest, (amongst such as for his basenesse were only fit companions, although the honor of his place did merit farre more respect,) with his purse and seale lying by him on that chest. My selfe told a servant of my Lord of Buckinghams, it was a shame to see the purse and seale of so little value or esteeme in his chamber, though the carryer, without it, merited nothing but scorne, being worst among the
133. basest. He told me they had command it must be so. After two days he had admittance; at first entrance, he fell down flat on his face at the dukes foot, kissing it, vowing never to rise till he had his pardon, then was he againe reconciled; and since that time so very a slave to the duke, and all that family, that he durst not deny the command of the meanest of the kind-

red, nor oppose any thing. By this you see, a base spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest minde; and surely never so many brave parts, and so base and abject a spirit tenanted together in any one earthen cottage, as in this one man.[1] I shall not remember his basenesse, being out of his place, of pinning himselfe, for very scraps, on that noble gentleman, Sir Julius Cæsars[2] hospitality, that at last he was forced to get the kings warrant to remove him out of his 134.

[1] In the notes on Bacon's Life in the "Biographia Britannica," strong reasons are assigned for disproving this scandalous story. The letters between Bacon and Buckingham, which are extant, bear no marks of servility on the part of the former, or insolence on that of the latter. It is true, that Sir Anthony Welldon attended King James to Scotland, as one of the Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth; but it seems very unlikely that he, in such a subordinate capacity, should be admitted to the intimacy he seems here to insinuate he enjoyed in the king's private conversation. No other historian, save Welldon himself, even hints at Bacon's extravagant conduct during James's absence, which, if true, must have been sufficiently public.

[2] Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, is, by less exceptionable evidence, said to have afforded liberal and unsolicited assistance to Bacon during his distress. This story seems, therefore, highly improbable.

house. Yet, in his prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Master of the Rolls, did so scorne and abuse him, as he would alter any thing the other did..

And now Buckingham having the chancellor, treasurer, and all great officers, his very slaves, swels in the height of pride; summons up all his country kindred, the old countesse providing a place for them to learne to carry themselves in a court-like garb; but, because they could not learn the French dances so soon as to be suitable to their gay clothes, country dances (for their sakes only) must be the garb of the court, and none else must be used.

Then must these women-kindred be married to earles, earles eldest sons, barons, or chiefe gentlemen of greatest estates, insomuch, that the very female kindred were so numerous, as were sufficient to have peopled any plantation; nay, very kitchin-wenches were married to knights eldest sons. Yet, as if England had not matches enough in the kingdome, they married, like the house of Austria, in their owne kindred; witnesse

135.

the Earle of Anglesea married a cousen-german, to whom he had given earnest before; so that King James, that naturally in former times hated women, had his lodgings replenished with them, and all of the kindred. The brethren, great earles. Little children did run up and downe the king's lodgings like little rabbit-starters about their boroughs. Here was a strange change, that the king, who formerly would not endure his queene and children in his lodgings, now you would have judged that none but women frequented them; nay, 196.
that was not all, but the kindred had all the houses about White-Hall, (as if they had been bulwarks and flankers to that cittadell.) But, above all the miracles of those times, old Sir Anthony Ashley, who never loved any but boyes, yet he was snatcht up for a kinswoman, as if there had been a concurrency thorow the kingdome, that those that naturally hated women, yet should love his kindred as well as the king him.

And the very old midwives of that kin-

dred flockt up for preferment, of which old Sir Christopher Perkins, a woman-hater, that never meant to marry, nay, it was said, he had made a vow of virginity, yet was coupled to an old midwife; so that you see the greatnesse of the favourite, who could force, (by his power over the king,) though against nature.[1]

137. But I must tell you this got him much hatred, to raise brothers and brothers-in-laws to the highest rank of nobility, which were not capable of the place, of scarce a justice of the peace; only his brother Purbeck[2] had

[1] This is an exaggerated statement of what was certainly in a great measure true. Buckingham made his mother a countess in her own right, which was at that time uncommon in England. He promoted his sister to the highest rank in the queen's household, and married all his kindred, whether of the entire or half-blood, of the names of Villiers or Beaumont, with actual peers, or with the sons and heirs of the nobility and knighthood, or at least with dignitaries of the church. And it may be well questioned whether this was more owing to the exertions of the favourite to gratify his kinswomen, or to the ambitious desire of those who sought to rise by allying themselves to the favourite.

[2] Sir John Villiers, created Baron Villiers of Stoke,

more wit and honesty than all the kindred beside, and did keep him in some bounds of honesty and modesty, whilst he lived about him, and would speake plaine English to him; for which plainnesse, when they had no colour to put him from his brother, they practised to make him mad, and thought to bring that wicked stratagem to effect, by countenancing a wicked woman, his wife, the Lord Cooks daughter, against him, even in her base and lewd living.[1]

and Viscount Purbeck. Wilson countenances the story here told of him. He married the daughter and heir of Lady Elizabeth Hatton, by Sir Edward Coke, a lady more remarkable for beauty than regularity of conduct. Being unused to the height to which he was exalted, Wilson quaintly intimates, his brain turned, and he was put under confinement.

[1] The Scottish historian Johnstone says, that Purbeck's marriage was celebrated amid the gratulation of the fawning courtiers, but stained by the tears of the reluctant bride, who was a sacrifice to her father's ambition of the alliance with Buckingham's family. The same authority says, that Lady Coke, indignant at the force offered to her daughter, despising her husband's meanness of spirit, and scarce refraining from affronting Buckingham himself, was committed to the custody of the sheriff of London. Of Lady Coke's scandalous

138. And now is Purbeck mad indeed, and put from court; now none great with Bucking-

disagreement with her husband, Lord Purbeck, Sir John Finet has recorded the following whimsical anecdote:

"In time of Christmas, the Viscountess of Purbeck, having, for execution of a sentence pronounced against her in the High Commission Court, her house beset by a serjeant at armes, with other officers of justice, a gentleman came in the morning from the Countess of Buckingham to the ambassador of Savoy, demanding leave of him for the said officers to pass through his house into his garden, (joined to the ladies,) for her more easie apprehension and arrest by that way; which, though at first he somewhat stuck at, (as wronging and lessening, he thought, the respect of his quality to leave his house free of entrance to such persons, especially for the surprise and arrest of a fair lady his neighbour;) he at last, notwithstanding, suffered the constable to enter it, and with convenience, to remain in it and in the garden, watching his opportunity till dinner-time, when some of the gentlemen, attendants on him, contriving a way to be rid of that encumbrance, dressed the ambassadors page (a handsome fair boy) in womens apparell, thrust him suddenly into the lords coach, (as if it had been the lady making her escape,) and drove fast with him down the Strand, followed by a multitude of people, and those officers, (not without danger to the coachman, from their violence,) but with ease to the ambassador, that had his house by this device cleared of the constable, but himself after charged by the duke, That all this was done of designe for the ladies escape, (which in that hubbub she made,) to his no small

ham, but bawds and parasites, and such as humoured him in his unchaste pleasures; so that since his first being a pretty, harmlesse, affable gentleman, he grew insolent, cruel, and a monster not to be endured.

prejudice and scorn, in a business that so neerly, he said, concerned him, (she being wife to his brother,) and bringing him children of anothers begetting; yet such as by the law (because begotten and born while her husband was in the land) must be of his fathering.

"The ambassador, for his purgation from this charge, went immediately to the duke at Whitehall, but was denied accesse: Whereupon repairing to my Lord Chamberlain for his mediation, I was sent to him by his lordship, to let him know more particularly the duke's displeasure, and back by the ambassador to the duke with his humble request but of one quarter of an hours audience for his disblaming. But the duke returning answer; That having always held him so much his friend, and given him so many fair proofs of his respects, he took his proceeding so unkindly, as he was resolved not to speak with him. I reported this to the ambassador, and had for his only answer, What reason cannot do, time will. Yet, after this, the Earles of Carliel and Holland interposing, the ambassador, (hungry after his peace from a person of such power, and regarding his masters service and the public affaires,) he a seven night after obtained of the duke an interview in Whitehall garden, and after an hours parly, a reconciliation."—FINNETTI PHILOGENUS. Lond. 1656. 8. p. 239.

And now is Williams, sometimes chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton, brought into play, made a Privy-Councellor, Deane of Westminster, and of secret councell with the king. He was also made Bishop of Lincolne, and was generally voyced at his first step to marry Buckinghams mother, who was in her husbands time created a countesse, (he remaining still a c. silly drunken sot,) and this was the first president of this kinde ever known. Williams held her long in hand, and no doubt, in nature of her confessor, was her secret friend, yet would not marry at present, which afterwards was cause of his downfall.[*]

139. Then was there a parliament summoned,

[*] Welldon here insinuates a reason for Buckingham's resentment against Williams, which is to be fonnd no where else. It is generally supposed, that, after having been long protected by the favourite, Williams incurred his displeasure by giving his advice against the celebrated expedition of Charles and Buckingham to Spain. And it has been asserted, that Laud, then bishop of St David's, was the person who betrayed to the duke the part which the bishop of Lincoln had taken upon the occasion.

in which Bacon, for his bribery and injustice, was thrust out, being closely prosecuted by one Morby, a woodmonger, and one Wrenham, formerly deeply censured in the Star-chamber for accusing him of bribery and injustice. Bacon was by parliament justly put out of his place, and but only for the votes of the bishops, had been degraded. The bishops might have done better to have kept their voyces to have done themselves service at this time; but surely that, with some other injustice of theirs, had so filled up their measure of iniquity, that now Gods anger is kindled against them.

In Bacons place comes Williams, a man on purpose brought in at first to serve turns, but in this place to doe that which none of the layity could be found bad enough to undertake; whereupon this observation was made, that first no lay-man could be found so dishonest as a clergyman; next, as Bacon, the father of this Bacon, did receive the seals from a bishop, so a bishop againe 140.

received them from a Bacon; and at this did the lawyers fret, to have such a flower pulled out of their garland.'

This Williams, though he wanted much of his predecessors abilities for the law, yet did he equal him for learning and pride, and beyond him in the way of bribery; this man answering by petitions, in which his servants had one part, himselfe another, and so was calculated to be worth to him and his servants 3000*l.* per annum, by a new way never found out before.[a]

[a] When Bacon was removed from the post of Chancellor, for reasons which we cannot delight to repeat, Williams, afterwards Archbishop of York, was employed by the Duke of Buckingham to draw up, for the king's information, an exact state of the just profits of the office. When the account (which brought the just revenue of Mr Chancellor's office to 2790*l.* yearly) was perused by the king, he judged the person by whom it was drawn up most worthy to execute that great trust.

[a] This insinuation was made during Williams' chancellorship, and by him resolutely denied; in two several remonstrances, made to the king and Duke of Buckingham, he protests that he only received petitions privately, to prevent the delay arising from his secretaries.

And now being come to the height of his preferment, he did estrange himselfe from the company of the old countesse, having much younger ware, who had keys to his chamber to come to him, yet was there a necessity of keeping him in this place for a time, the Spanish match being yet in chase, and if it succeeded, this man was to clap the great seal (through his ignorance in the laws) to such things that none that understood the danger by knowing the laws would venture upon, and for this designe was he at first brought in, (no prince living knowing how to make use of men better than King James.[1]) Now was also Suf- 141.

[1] If this was really intended, Williams chose an excellent way to escape the plot laid for him, by studying for some time under Sir Henry Finch, chusing an able Master of the Rolls to sit with him in Chancery, and applying frequently for the assistance of the judges. The following instance of his checking the petulance of one who presumed upon his ignorance of the common law, is mentioned in his life by Dr Hacker:

"At his first entrance upon Chancery, one at the bar, thinking the Lord Keeper, as a novice, might be ignorant of the terms of the common law, troled out a motion, crammed like a grenado, with obsolete terms;

folk turned out of his place of Lord Treasurer, and a fellow of the same batch that Williams was, brought into his place; Cranfield, that was the projector, and never could get higher than that title in Somersets time, now marrying one of Buckinghams kindred, attained one of the highest titles in the kingdome, so that it was now generally said, that for pride and basenesse, these two great
1612. places were never so suited, both of mean birth, both proud, only the one an excellent scholler, and of great parts; the other, nothing but a pack of ignorance sawthered together with impudence to raise him, (besides his marriage in the lusty kindred.)

This Cranfield was a fellow of so meane a condition, as none but a poore-spirited nobility would have endured his perching on

imagining that with those musty phrases he should baffle the new judge; but the keeper, with a serious face, answered him with a cluster of crabbed notions, picked out of logic and metaphysics; so that the counsellor being foiled at his own weapons, and well laughed at in the court, went home with this lesson, that he who tempts a wise man in jest, shall make himself a fool in earnest."

that high tree of honour, to the dishonour of the nobility, the disgrace of the gentry, and not long after to his owne dishonour, who was thrust out of the Lords house with this censure, that "Thou Lionel, Earle of Middlesex, shalt never sit, or have a voyce more in this House of Peeres, and shalt pay for a fine to our soveraign lord the king 20,000*l.*," leaving him still to overtop the gentry. The bishops kept him also from degrading, 143.
which I doe verily beleeve is one cause the gentry will degrade them.

The Spanish match having been long in treaty, and it being suspected now that the Spaniard did juggle with the state in this, as they formerly did in a match with that brave Prince Henry; and in truth, in all other things wherein any negotiation had been, only feeding the king with faire hopes and faire words, yet foule deeds. Whether the king suspected any such matter, or any whimsey came in the braine of this great favourite and prince, to imitate the old stories of the knights errand; but agreed

The prince goes into Spaine.

it was (it should seem) between the favourite and the prince only, no one other so much as dreaming of any such adventure, except Cottington, that the prince must
144. goe himselfe into Spain. Away they went under the borrowed names of Jack and Tom Smith, to the amasement of all wise men, only accompanied with Cottington, and some one or two more at most; taking their way by France, they had the ports laid so that none should follow them, or give any notice to the French court till they might get the start, &c. yet their wisdomes made them adventure to stay in the French court, and looke on that lady whom he after married. And there did this Mars imitate one of Prince Arthurs knights, in seeking adventures through forraigne princes territories; first beheld this French beauty, *Mars vidit, visamque cupit, potiturque cupita:* as in our discourse will afterward appear. From thence away to Spaine; but as the journey was only plotted by young heads, so it was so childishly car-

ried, that they escaped the French kings curriers very narrowly. But escape they did, and arrived safely in Spaine, their wished port, before either welcome or expected by our embassadours or that state.[1] 145.

Yet now must the best face be put on at all hands, that put their grandees to new shifts, and our embassadour, the Earle of Bristol, to try his wit; for at that time was Sir Walter Aston also embassador at Spain. In all occurrences Aston complied with the prince and duke; Bristol ran counter, and the duke and Bristol hated each other mortally.

Bristol had the advantage of them there, as having the much better headpiece, and being more conversant and dear with that state, wholly complying with them, and surely had done them very acceptable services, (and in this very treaty was one of

[1] The Compte de Grammont, governor of Bayonne, with his usual acuteness, discovered in the two adventures something above the private characters they presented, yet permitted them to pass on.

146. the pack.) Buckingham had the advantage of him in England, (although the king did now hate Buckingham, yet was so awed, that he durst not discover it.) Then Buckingham had all interest in his successor by this journey, so that he laid a present and future foundation of his succeeding greatnesse.

For all his power and greatnesse, Bristol did not forbeare to put all scorns, affronts, and tricks on him; and Buckingham lay so open, as gave the other advantage enough by his lascivious carriage and miscarriage. Amongst all his tricks, he plays one so cunningly, that it cost him all the hair on his head, and put him to the dyet. For it should seem he made court to Conde Olivarez wife, a very handsome lady;[1] but it was so plotted betwixt the lady, her husband,

[1] This is a misrepresentation, the Countess of Olivarez being old and deformed. But that there was a mortal quarrel between Buckingham and Olivarez i certain. They parted with expressions of mutual defiance.

and Bristol, that instead of that beauty, he had a notorious stews-bird sent him; and surely, by reason of his said loose and vicious disposition, had ever the match been really intended for our prince, yet such a companion or guardian was enough to have 147.
made that wary nation beleeve that he had also been that way addicted, and so have frustrated the marriage, (that being a grave and sober people, now especially when conversed with by such great forraigne ghests,) but they well observed the prince himselfe to be of an extraordinary well-staied temper.

But now many lords flocked over, and many servants, that he might appear the prince of England, and like himselfe, though he came thither like a private person; many treaties were, sometimes hope, sometimes despair, sometimes great assurance; then all dasht againe; and however his entertainment was as great as possible that state could afford, yet was his addresses to and 148.
with the lady such as rendered him meane,

148. and a private person, rather than a prince of that state, that formerly had made Spain feel the weight of their anger and power; and was like a servant, not a suiter, for he never was admitted, but to stand bare-head in her presence, nor to talk with her, but in a full audience with much company.

At last, after many heats and cools, many hopes and despairs, the prince wrote a letter to his father of a desperate despaire, not only of not injoying his lady, but of nevermore returning, with this passage: "You must now, sir, look upon my sister and her children, forgetting ever you had such a son, and never thinking more of me."

Now the folly of this voyage, plotted only by green heads, began to appear, many shewing much sorrow, many smiling at their follies, (and in truth glad in their hearts,)

149. and however the king was a cunning dissembler, and shewed much outward sorrow, as he did for Prince Henryes death, yet something was discerned, which made his court beleeve little griefe came neare his heart,

for that hatred he bare to Buckingham long, (as being satiated with him,) and his adoring the rising sunne, not looking after the sunne setting, made the world beleeve he would thinke it no ill bargain to lose his son, so Buckingham might be lost also; for had he not been weary of Buckingham, he would never have adventured him in such a journey, all his courtiers knew that very well.[1]

And for a further illustration of his wearinesse of Buckingham, it appeared in the parliament before, when the king gave so much way to his ruine, that Buckingham challenged him that he did seeke his ruine, and being generally held as a lost man, the king (to make it appeare it was not so, although, as hereafter you shall understand, it was so, and that the king durst not avow 150.

[1] This malignant insinuation is fully confuted by the narrative of Cottington, as given by Lord Clarendon, where the poor old king's agony at the very idea of this fantastic journey, is described with a touching though homely pencil. He threw himself down in despair, exclaiming, that he was undone, and should lose Baby Charles, his familiar name for the prince.

his own act, brought him off from that parliament, but Buckingham hated the king ever afterwards.

The reason the king so hated Buckingham, (besides his being weary of him for his now stalenesse, was his marriage, after which the kings edge was ever taken off from all favourites as well as him; yet this had so much the over-awing power of him, that he durst not make shew to affect any other,) there was one Inniossa, a Spanish embassador extraordinary here, being an old soldier, and a gallant fellow, who thought that Buckingham did not give that respect to him was due to his own person, or to the person of so great a king, whose
151. person he represented. Inniossa did as much scorn and slight Buckingham and the prince, whom he found wholly governed by Buckingham; for now Buckingham had found, by many passages, the kings desire to be rid of him, he made court to the prince, and so wrought himself into his affection, that Damon and Pythias were not

more dear each to other, which by no means could the old king away with, nor in truth did any other like or approve of the prince his poor spirit; fearing it foretold his future inclination, that could ever indure any familiarity with such an one as had put such foule scorns and affronts on him in his time of greatnes with the father; especially, such as called to mind the bravery of his brother, who hated the whole family for their general basenesse, although none of them had ever offended him in particular, 152.
as this man had done the prince at two several times, once before an infinite concourse, by bidding him in plaine terms kisse his a—; a second time, offering to strike him, saying, in most undutiful terms, "By God, it shall not be so, nor you shall not have it," lifting up his hand over his head with a ballon-bracer; that the prince said, "What, my lord, I thinke you intend to strike me." The first of these audacious affronts was at Royston, the second at Greenwich, before about 400 people. Neither of which were to bee indured by a private

person; but by a prince from a private person, surely it shewed a much lesse spirit then should have been inherent to a prince, and after this to be so dear with him, as to be governed by him all his lifetime, more than his father was in the prime of his affection, I can give it not title mean enough.
153. It had been worthy the noble minde of a prince to have forgotten such injuries, as never to have revenged them when he had been king, but never to have suffered him to have come neare his court, to upbraid him with the sight of so much scorn, and that publickly offered him before. But at that time I well remember some criticks in court did not stick to read his future destiny.

This Inniossa, being a brave daring gentleman, used some speeches in the derogation of the prince and Buckingham, as if they were dangerous to the old king; nay, Inniossa sent one Pedro Macestria, a Spanish jesuite, and a great statesman, to King James, to let him know, that he, under confession, had found the king was by Buck-

ingham, or by his procurement, to be killed, 154.
but whether by poyson, pistol, dagger, &c.
that he could not tell.

The king, after the hearing of this, was extream melancholy, and in that passion was found by Buckingham at his return to him. The king, as soon as ever he espied him, said, "Ah Stenny, Stenny," (for so he ever called him in familiarity,) "wilt thou kill me?" at which Buckingham started, and said: "Who, sir, hath so abused you?" at which the king sat silent. Out went Buckingham, fretting and fuming, asked, who had been with the king in his absence? It was told him, Padro Macestria; then, who brought him to the king? It was replyed, the Earle of Kelly. Then flew Buckingham on him, to know how he durst bring any one into the king in his absence, or without his licence? Kelly stood up close to him, (for you must know Kelly was the 155.
truest alarum to give warning of the downefall of a favourite of any in the court,) and knew his power could doe him no hurt with the king, in present, although it utter-

ly cast him out of all favour from the king in future.

Then Buckingham questioned Padro Macestria; but that quarrel was interposed and undertook by Inniossa, who told him he would maintaine him a traytor, and that, were his masters person off him, he was a chevalier, and better borne than himselfe, and would make it good on him with his sword.

Which high comparison, (though I beleeve true enough,) together with his generous charge and challenge, Buckingham for that time swallowed, and only thought of this shift to vindicate himselfe on Inniossa, which was to cause the prince to write a letter of complaint to the king of Spaine, for abusing him and Buckingham; but the king of Spaine returned the letter in a kind of scorne to Inniossa, not as blaming him, but rather commending him; and Inniossa, in scorne, sent it to the prince, as if he should say, there is your letter to wipe ——, which is all it is fit for.

156.

Now have you heard what made the king

hate Buckingham, you shall also hear the reason of Buckinghams extream hatred to the king, which was believed the cause of his so speedy death. Yelverton, a very faithful servant to the king, and his attorney-generall, and no lesse affectionate to Somerset, being formerly raised by him, without any seeking of his, or so much as within his thought, in so much as to expresse his love to Somerset, he desired to lay down that great place, rather then aggravate, as his place required, against him. This man, as well out of his faithfulnesse to the king, as affection to Somerset, was made choyce of, to worke the downefall of Buckingham, in which he apparently shewed himselfe. But Buckingham, as I told you before, out of the kings feare, that durst not maintaine his owne design, but left his instruments to the mercy of Buckinghams tyranny, being once gotten out of the toile, like a chased boare, foamed, and bit at all came near him, and amongst them, first fastned on Yelverton, put him out of his place, and committed

157.

him close prisoner to the Tower. Yelverton having shewed himselfe so faithfull to his master, and he againe so unfaithfull to him, to leave him to undergo the whole burden of Buckinghams fury, did fly out in some passion before Sir Allen Appesly, then lieutenant of the Tower, and Buckinghams great creature.

Appesly telling the duke of some passages in his passion, the duke one night about
158. 12 a clock came in a disguise, and with the lieutenant only, entered Yelvertons lodging. Yelverton at first sight started, verily beleeving he came in that manner to murther him; yet at last recollected himselfe, and said:—"My lord, have you the kings warrant for this?" The duke said, "No." "Then," said Yelverton, "how dare you enter a close prisoners lodging? it is as much as your life is worth; and assure yourselfe, Master Lieutenant, the king shall know of this, and you must answer it."—My lord said, "I come to you as a friend, though formerly, I confesse, upon just cause,

your mortall enemy; only to aske you but two questions, which if you will resolve me, I vow to be a greater friend now then ever an enemy, and can and will restore you foure fold. Yelverton told him, if they were such as he might, hee would.

The first he asked was, What wrong he had ever done him, that he so greedily thirsted after his blood? Yelverton replyed, "Never any, but I was set on by a power that I could not withstand, to doe what I did." He asked him by whom? "By the king your master," said he, "who hates you more then any man living, which you might well understand, when, in his speech to the parliament, he said he would not spare any, (no, not any that were dearest to him, or lay in his bosome,) by which he pointed them to you." 159.

"Well," said Buckingham, "I see you have dealt like a friend with me, by many other concurrences as well as by this; give me your hand, henceforth you are my friend, and I am yours; and I will raise you higher then I have cast you downe:" which he

160. had made good, had Yelverton lived to have injoyed it, for he was instantly released, and the next preferment he gratified him with was a judges place, and he had been Lord Keeper had not death prevented it. And if there were no other reason, but his change from a mortall enemy to so firme a friend, this were sufficient to confirme the truth of this story. But the authour had this from Yelvertons owne relation, and cannot commend Yelverton, because it is verily beleeved this hastned the kings death.

Now have you heard the true causes of Buckinghams hatred to the king, and the kings to Buckingham. The king having the more power to revenge, had the lesse courage; Buckingham lesse power, but more courage, sharpened with revenge: And however the world did beleeve the kings inclination was out of a religious ground, that
161. he might not revenge, yet it was no other but a cowardly disposition that durst not adventure; but although the king lost his opportunity on Buckingham, yet the black

plaister and powder did shew Buckingham lost not his on the king; and that it was no fiction but a reallity, that Padro Macestria had formerly told the king.

And now to returne from this digression, which is not impertinent, (besides a great secret,) the prince returnes from Spaine, contrary to expectation; in which the wisdome and gravity of the Spaniard failed him, especially if they did beleeve Padro Macestria, (besides nature could not long support the old king,) and then the Spaniard might have made no little advantage by injoying such a pledge: But they have confessed their errour, yet doe palliate it with having the prince his faith and his proxie left with Digby, and got thence with 162.
the very same tricke Sir Francis Michell said, he got out of the inquisition at Rome.

Now is all the fault laid on Digbyes false play and unfaithfulnesse to his master, and combining with the Spaniard, and by this peece of service expressing his hatred to the Spaniard for his owne ends, (the sub-

jects of England having ever naturally hated them,) Buckingham, the most hated man then living, from an accused man in the former parliament, came to be the very darling of this parliament, and a favourite to the whole kingdome, which after King James his death he as soone lost againe, (so inconstant are the multitude.)

In the banquetting-house before both houses of parliament, is Buckingham to
163. give an account of this voyage, which he did at large, and to every full point as a further attestation, he saith, "How say you, sir?" to which the prince answered, "I, yea, or yes," and through all his discourse laboured to make Bristoll as hatefull to this parliament as himselfe had been to the former; which, had these things delivered by him, and attested by the prince, been truths, he had justly deserved death; the accusations were foule, and little lesse then treason, without any legislative power.

Digby had some friends who instantly sent this declaration into Spaine: Digby

acquaints that king, takes his leave of him for England: that king sets his danger before him, offers if he will stay with him, seeing it is for his sake he is like to suffer, he would make him much greater in honour and fortune then his master can doe; Digby gives him thankes, but sayes, he 164.
served so just a master that would not condemne him unheard, and should he, yet he had much rather suffer under innocency, then lye under the imputation of a false accusation of a fugitive and traytor, for the highest preferment in the world.

Away therefore comes he, puts himselfe into a desperate passage, least the parliament should have been dissolved before his comming, and so no place or meanes left him for his defence, but must lie under those false calumnies, and was here (as the prince came into Spaine) sooner then either looked for or welcome.

Into the parliament comes he, with his hat full of papers, where he puts himselfe upon this point, that if there were one syl-

lable true that Buckingham had delivered,
165. if this (holding up a paper in his hand) be a true copy, I will yeeld my selfe guilty of all treasons can be laid to my charge, and said, these papers (pointing to his hat) shall make it manifest: Besides, some of them shall make Buckingham appeare a very monster in his lascivious carriages, too unchaste for the eares of this honourable assembly. Bristoll was instantly committed close prisoner to the Tower for a contempt; the next day hee was riding through Cheapside in his coach, by which it appeares Buckinghams power was in the wane with his old master, his relation and accusation being scandalous and false; nor ever durst hee bring Bristol to any further tryall.

Whether this wound was deeper given by Bristol to Buckingham, or the prince, I will leave to the reader to judge, and will not my selfe determine; and how Bristol
166. hath since stood in favour with the prince, since he was king, may give a conjecture, that he tooke it as a wound to himselfe, I

am sure it was an ill omen, and hath since given him lesse credit with his subjects.

And in this parliament doth Buckingham, by his under-hand ministers and agents, accuse Cranfield, the Lord Treasurer, in which the prince also shewes himselfe. Cranfield was so hated a fellow for his insolency, that a small accusation would serve the turne, as this truly was, had his care of expending the kings treasure been out of a true zeale: for it should seeme, that the prince sending for monies, Cranfield restrained his expresse, using some words, that the journey it selfe was foolishly undertaken, and now must be maintained by prodigality, in which the revenue of the kingdome would not satisfie their vast expences; if this had been spoken out of a noble minde, or out of that feeling he had of the kingdomes misery, (as being treasurer he ought to have done,) had he fallen, it had been with honour and a generall compassion; but being spoken out of the pride and insolency of his owne heart, whose minde was ever so

Cranfield accused in parliament.

1621.

base, as never to discerne what honour was, nor ever had he any other inherent honour then what in his apprentiship he raked out of the kennel; besides, it was knowne to be out of hatred, that he was not of councell in the undertaking, he then looking at himselfe as the only statesman of all the councell: He fell without pitty, and with much scorne, as I formerly set downe; yet left in a higher estate, and better condition,
168. then so worthlesse a fellow and base projector deserved. Yet afterwards hee was againe questioned upon his accounts: But all this was nothing, himselfe and his posterity being left peeres of the realme.

In this case was the prince a principall actour, and did duly keep the earliest houres to sit in that parliament, where then he discerned so much juggling, even to serve his owne ends on Cranfield, that it was not much to be wondred at, being come to be king, he did not affect them: And it was not well that a prince should shew so much spleen, though Cranfield de-

served any ill could be cast on him, and who knowes whether God doth now punish by tallion law, to call his owne sin to remembrance, and to repent?

In this place I hold it not unfit to shew the reader how the king hath ever been abused, and would be abused by over- 169.
much credulity in the treaty of Spaine for marriages, as well as in all other negotiations.

You shall now perceive how the king was abused in this treaty, which was an error inexcusable, in himselfe and whole councell. The Italians having a proverbe, He that deceives me once, its his fault, but if twice, its my fault: this second time, therefore, could not but be the only fault of the king and councell.

In Prince Henry his life time, the king had a little man, but a very great and wise counsellour, his Secretary of State, little Salisbury, that great statesman, who did inherit all his fathers wisdome, as well as his offices, and the sonne came little short

of the father, who was held the greatest
170. statesman in the world of his time. It is true, that one state may abuse another; but not to finde out the abuse, is an unpardonable fault in any statesman.

There was a treaty in the like case for Prince Henry, Salisbury instantly discovered the juggling before any other did thinke of any; for although it went forward currently, yet did Salisbury so put the Duke of Lerma unto it, that either it must be so, or they must confesse their juggling.

The Duke of Lerma denyed that ever there had been any treaty, or any intention from that state; Salisbury sent for the embassadour to a full councell, told him how hee had abused the king and state, about a treaty for marriage, which he had no commission for; that therefore he was lyable
171. to the lawes of our kingdome; for where any ambassadour doth abuse a state by their master's commission, then the servant was freed; but without commission, was culpable, and lyable to be punished by the

lawes of that state, as being disavowed to be servant to the king his master: The embassadour answered gravely, he did not understand the cause of his comming, therefore was then unprepared to give any answer; but on Monday he would againe come, this being Saturday, and give his answer. On Monday he comes, begins with these words: "My soule is my Gods, my life my masters, my reputation my owne; I will not forfeit the first and last to preserve the second;" then layes downe his commission and letters of instruction under the Duke of Lerma's owne hand: he acquitted himself honestly to this state, yet lost his owne, being instantly sent for home, where he lived and died in disgrace. Here was *Legatus vir bonus peregrè missus, sed non ad mentiendum republicæ causa*:[1] And 172.

[1] Alluding to the celebrated apothegm of Sir Henry Walton, which, in English, had a more ambiguous meaning. "An embassador is a good man sent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country." To lie abroad signified there generally to reside abroad; hence the phrase to *lie lieger*.

had we had as honest and good statesmen in after times, (as Salisbury was, and so demonstrated himselfe in this weighty affaire,) this state could not have been so abused in all treaties.

By this you see the advantage and benefit of one wise counsellour in a whole state; and although Solomon say, By the multitude of counsellors doth a kingdome flourish, yet surely he intended they should be wise men that are counsellours; for we had such a multitude of counsellours, that a longer table, and a larger counsell-chamber was provided, yet our state was so far from flourishing, that it had been almost utterly destroyed. This was the last statesman worthy of that name; and now are the ancient stock of statesmen decayed, and with them all our honour and glory.

179. I shall now bring my story to an end, as I shall this kings life; although I have made some digressions, yet all pertinent to the discourse of this kings reigne.

He now goes to his last hunting journey,

I meane the last of the yeare, (as wel as of his life,) which he ever ended in Lent; and was seized on by an ordinary and moderate tertian ague, which at that season, according to the proverb, was physick for a king, but it proved not so to him; and, poore king, what was but physick to any other, was made mortall to him! yet not the ague, as himselfe confessed to a servant of his now living, who cryed, "Courage, sir, this is but a small fit, the next will be none at all;" at which he most earnestly looked, and said, "Ah, it is not the ague afflicteth me, but the black plaister and powder given me, and laid to my stomack;" and in truth, the plaister so tormented him, that he was glad to have it pulled off, and with it the skin also; nor was it faire dealing, if he had faire play, (which himselfe suspected, often saying to Montgomery, whom he trusted above all men in his sicknesse, for Gods sake, looke I have faire play,) to bring in an emprick, to apply any medicines, whilst those physitians appointed to attend

him were at dinner; nor could any but Buckingham answer it with lesse then his life at that present, as he had the next parliament, had it not been dissolved upon the very questioning him for the kings death, and all those that prosecuted him, utterly disgraced and banished the court.

Buckingham comming into the kings chamber, even when he was at the point of death, and an honest servant of the king crying, "Ah, my lord, you have undone us, all his poore servants although
175. you are so well provided you need not care:" At which, Buckingham kickt at him, who caught his foot, and made his head first come to ground, where Buckingham presently rising, run to the dying kings bed side, and cryed, "Justice, sir, I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused;" at which the poore king (become by that time speechlesse) mournfully fixed his eies on him, as who would have said, Not wrongfully.

It were worth the knowledge what his

confession was, or what ôther expressions he made of himselfe, or any other; but that was only known to the dead Arch-bishop Abbot, and the Bishop Williams, then also Lord Keeper, and it was thought Williams had blabbed something which incensed the kings anger, and Buckinghams hatred, so much against him, that the losse of his place could not be expatiory sufficient, but his utter ruine must be determined, and that not upon any knowne crime, 170.
but upon circumstances and examinations, to pick out faults committed in his whole life time; but this greatest crime for the present, (no question,) was *lapsus linguæ*; but *quod defertur non aufertur*, for although he escaped by the calme of that parliament, yet he is more ruined by this parliament and his owne folly; and truly we may observe the just judgement of God on him, for flying from the parliament his protector, to give wicked counsell to the king, his former prosecutor.

And now have I brought this great kings reigne to an end, in a volant discourse, and shall give you his character in briefe, and so leave him in peace after his life, who was stiled the king of peace in his life.

[1] This character begins vol. ii.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.

00036633

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015